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ISSUES
IN
CHINA**



**HENRY T.
HODGKIN**

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LIVING ISSUES
IN CHINA

LIVING ISSUES IN CHINA

By
HENRY T. HODGKIN

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HENRY T. HODGKIN was born and educated in England. After taking his Master of Arts degree at King's College, Cambridge, he took his medical degree at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, and in 1905 went to Chengtu, West China, as a medical missionary. In 1910 he returned to England to become secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, a post which he held for ten years. In this period he visited India, Syria, Ceylon, Madagascar and America, speaking on international and religious subjects. On the outbreak of the World War in 1914 he was one of the group responsible for the organization of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in England and America, and held the chairmanship of that body in England for five years. In 1920 he returned to China, spending most of the next two years traveling extensively and lecturing to students and other groups. When the National Christian Council of China was formed in 1922 he was invited to become one of its secretaries, and for seven years traveled throughout China in the interests of the cooperative enterprises of the many churches and missions comprising the Council. Opportunity was thus available to him to observe every phase of the changing life of the Chinese people in the period when the Nationalist government was being established. At the conclusion of this period Dr. Hodgkin responded to the call of the Society of Friends in America to become director of a graduate center for religious and social study, Pendle Hill, which was opened at Wallingford, Pennsylvania, in the autumn of 1930.

Dr. Hodgkin is the author of a number of books, among them *The Way of the Good Physician*, *The Missionary Spirit*, *The Christian Revolution*, *The Way of Jesus*, *China in the Family of Nations*, and is the editor of *Seeing Ourselves through Russia*.

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Written under some pressure, with many other claims on my time, I am well aware of imperfections in this volume, and I can only say that these must have been more serious had it not been for aid received.

H. T. H.

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LIVING ISSUES
IN CHINA

INTRODUCTION

CHINA AND OURSELVES

MY FIRST few weeks in China (in the spring of 1905) were spent as the guest of Dr. D. Willard Lyon on the North Szechwan Road, Shanghai. Never can I forget the feeling I had of having come into a land of perpetual noise. All day long wheelbarrows squeaked past the door, carrying building materials for the multitude of new houses rising all around. As night fell the sound of hammering, shouting, singing, swearing, gave place to the perpetual croaking of frogs in swampy fields long since converted into terraces and alleys. Thereafter, as I traveled fifteen hundred miles inland, the chanting of the trackers on the river boats, the noisy meals, the fierce quarrels on occasion, the loud bartering at booths and stalls, all confirmed the impression. The noises of China are many and varied and bewildering.

Today the sounds seem to cross the Pacific Ocean, the sounds of China struggling with new forces, and with old spectres such as famine and lawlessness; China crying out to the world to stand by her when aggression threatens; China speaking in the new language she is just beginning to learn. It may be that the voices we hear are superficial and that the deeper cries never reach our ears. As a newcomer in China,

how could I have heard the little girls in countless homes crying out with agony as their tender feet were crushed? Still less could I catch the yearning, of which they themselves were scarcely conscious, for a life of freedom and expansion. How could I hear the dull cry of hundreds of thousands sinking under sheer poverty aggravated by the opium habit, by piled up debt, by recurrent famine? Still less might a newcomer be aware of the soul hunger and mental poverty by which the great masses were crippled and stunted. So it is in America today; the deeper voices from China are drowned by a few insistent notes. If we might for a while listen to the deeper voices we should be less impatient of the discordant cries which fill our ears; we should be on the way towards understanding and helping those who are crying to us.

But why should we spend time studying China when there are a hundred problems at home which call for intense thought and energetic action? Such may well be the question in the minds of many who are asked to read this volume or to join a study group. It will not be time lost to deal with such a state of mind.

To anyone who, like the author, has spent years in China, the question may seem indeed to be superfluous. Such a person has come under the spell of the East. He has known the inspiration of meeting representatives of one of the great ancient civilizations. He has stood in temples which owe their inspiration to Laotze or Confucius or Buddha, and which maintain

traditions and practices that have been woven into the life of the whole race. He has talked with men and women who were trained along lines almost precisely similar to those along which their forefathers centuries before Christ were trained. He has observed living under the same roof or in the same street young men and young women who are brimming over with enthusiasm for modern science, who have been students in Paris or New York or Oxford, whose eyes are turned to the future with a hopeful idealism in strange contrast with the attitude of a father or a grandfather who cannot think save in terms of classics compiled four or five hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era. To have lived and worked thus in a country which one had been taught to regard as the home of dyed-in-the-wool conservatism is enough to keep one thinking furiously, and to make the future of the Chinese people at once the most interesting and perplexing of world problems. To have resided during recent years in China, or even to have paid a flying visit to her great cities, means that one can scarcely keep his eyes turned long in any other direction. It is the land where anything may happen.

One of the commonest of Chinese phrases is *chiang chiu*, meaning to adapt for a particular use. One's cook on the road is master of the art; every proper Chinese has studied it. To what marvelous and unexpected uses, for example, have the ubiquitous oil tins been put! China makes use in her own way of a thousand Western devices and ideas. We watch today

the process of *chiang chiu* being tried out upon a national stage. Ideas and inventions from all over the world are being adapted in new ways for new uses. China has already surprised the world in what she has taken and in what she has refused. Is she yet to show a power to select and turn to her advantage other things which we are accustomed to picture her as using in our way or not at all? So terrific are the issues involved in the clash of ancient civilizations and modern ways of life and thought that even now we can have but a faint idea of what the process of *chiang chiu* on the grand scale will mean. Perhaps these pages may indicate a few lines for thought and future observation. The years ahead will unfold many a new problem, and we may be sure that the way in which these problems are met will deeply influence not only China but the whole world.

There are persons who find it difficult to catch and some who are even repelled by this enthusiasm for the Chinese. The Chinese they know may be neither interesting nor attractive. The laundry down the street may be run by some of them. The cinema across the way last week may have shown one Chinese as a master villain full of cunning and cruelty. The daily news reveals the wars of the Chinese as interminable, and the names of their generals and statesmen as hopeless to pronounce and so indistinguishable as to be beyond memorizing. Nothing in the press is more confusing than the news from China, and nothing less to be desired than the intrusion of this strange people among

our own. Wisely, as we may think, North America has decided on a policy of excluding them from her shores and denying them citizenship. Since they are so different, so undesirable, so unwelcome, would it not be better to leave them alone?

Am I far wrong in thus paraphrasing the point of view of a fairly large number of people in America? Would it be fair to say that not a few such are to be found in the churches? As a matter of fact there are a good many churchgoers and supporters of missions who have suffered a distinct setback in their interest in China. A few years ago it seemed as if the doors, at last widely opened after so many years of opposition, would now be entered rapidly. A great opportunity presented itself with startling suddenness. Almost anything might happen if we could know how to meet the situation in the name of Christ. Age-long prejudice was yielding. The walls had fallen as mysteriously as those of Jericho. Little remained to do except for the hosts of the Lord to pour in and possess the city.

What happened? After a few years of rapid expansion it became apparent that the new ideas from the West were not all synonymous with Christianity. Anti-foreign prejudice assumed a new form, with knowledge of history and with personal experience to support it in place of blind ignorance and fear. A link seemed to have been forged, even, between the reverent agnosticism of Confucius and the latest scientific theories of the universe. The standards of Western life were found in practice to be very different from

those contained in the New Testament. Europe and America were giving to China, through the trader and politician and many of her own returned students, the very weapons she needed to repel what she was learning to call an attempt at "cultural exploitation." Misrepresentation of the missionaries' aim was harder to bear than unreasoning opposition to it. To be regarded as the secret agents of aggressive nations seemed grossly unfair. A doubt crept into many Western minds as to whether it were not better to leave China alone if she resented what so many called our interference. Perhaps our strength were better spent in Christianizing our every contact with China rather than in seeking to make Christians of individual Chinese.

This volume is written by one who is extremely sensitive to these questionings. Not lightly could anyone have undertaken missionary work who returned to China in 1920 after ten years in England under the weight of the World War and what had seemed to him that dreadful exhibition of our failure to follow the Prince of Peace in the countries which have been called Christian after his name. Missionary work could never seem to that man, after that tragic time, a mere passing on of a great word by those who had heard it to those who had not. Only with tears of shame and in humility of spirit could he go to the East with a gospel that we of the West had so little understood and expressed.

Moreover, there came to many in those days what may be called a new conception of the whole mission-

any enterprise. In earlier days we had begun confidently, believing that we had what others had not. We were sure of one thing, that God had spoken in Jesus Christ as in no other way, and that we must share the joy and release which comes through trusting his gospel of love. But across this bright vision the dark shadow fell. We knew that we could not preach Christ with words alone. And we knew that it was not only our private lives which would confirm or deny the words we spoke. The whole social order out of which we came and with which we were perforce identified was shrieking a message so loud that our individual word was almost drowned out by the hubbub of conflicting voices. This meant that we had to see our task in the light of each nation's own particular needs. We had to try to understand the points at which its people were in difficulty, what were their problems, how they faced life. By this method only could we bring to them a relevant gospel.

It is from a standpoint of this sort that the present volume is written. The claim of Christ to save the individual is by no means forgotten; this will be apparent to all who read the book. But the time is ripe for a reorientation of missions which will bring with it heart-searching questions for both missionaries and mission supporters. If we begin with the study of human need as we see it today in any one place—and was not that where Jesus began?—we shall have to ask ourselves whether we have so seen God as to know where he touches that particular human need. We may also have to ask ourselves whether the Chris-

tianity which presumes to send missionaries abroad may be taking for granted that God has nothing to do with whole areas of our life and so failing to catch even a glimpse of his purposes for the world. For a religion which is content to be bowed out of any field of human thought or action as an interference or as irrelevant can never justify its claim to be a world religion. If we are to be missionaries indeed we must be missionaries not only to the nations but to all of life; and failing in the latter effort, or not even seriously attempting it, we shall be stultified in the former. Such is the conviction which inspires the approach of this book.

The claim of China on our interest may be briefly stated as including:

(1) The fact that she is so large a part of a world family which is in process of reconstruction and which cannot find a true goal save through closer interrelation of the parts.

(2) The fact that the West has already broken in on China with terrific effect, and that it is a plain duty to make Western contacts as Christian as possible.

(3) The fact that the economic aspect of these contacts is seriously threatening China's welfare.

(4) The fact that leading Chinese seek for constructive cooperation from understanding Westerners.

(5) The fact that the Chinese are included as we all are in the purpose and love of God for humanity, and that in Christ is to be found the supreme vision of that purpose and that love.

CHAPTER I

CREATING A NEW STATE SYSTEM

IN THE year 1911 the people of China threw off the foreign yoke, and the Manchu or Ching dynasty was brought to an end. The Chinese decided to try their hand again at governing themselves. The time had more than come for the old rulers to be replaced. The long autocracy of that clever but narrow-minded despot, Tzu Hsi, dowager empress, had been a prime factor in the creation of discontent. When her successors tried to take up the reins of government they soon exhibited a degree of incompetence and selfishness which proved that the "mandate of heaven" was indeed exhausted. The question uppermost in all minds was, Into whose hands will be given the power which these Manchus are unfitted to wield?

Although the Ching dynasty included two of China's greatest rulers, Káng Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, it must be remembered that in the main its traditions were not those of constructive and progressive statesmanship. The provincial viceroys had almost unlimited power so long as they kept order and remitted the revenues which Peking demanded. "Squeeze" was universal, largely because salaries were inadequate. Local communities lived under a system of family and guild laws, with an appeal to the magistrate a possibility in

the background. Scarcely any sense of national unity or national spirit existed. Men received major appointments through family or financial influence, and then filled minor positions from among their fellow-clansmen. With distances great and means of communication inadequate, with a system based on self or family interest and an alien rulership, how was it possible to develop in any large way the ideals of public service essential to genuine national development?

It is not then surprising that the declaration of a republic in China initiated a period when it seemed as if the old mandarinat would reestablish its power. The China of 1911-1927 was ruled by one after another of the military chiefs who, following Yuan Shih-kai, sought to unify the country by force. The decade and a half of misrule, civil war, social disorganization and lawlessness left China so deeply divided and enfeebled that the one thing needful seemed to be peace at any price. Yet until the launching of the northern expedition from Canton in July 1926, no person or group had appeared on the political horizon who combined the factors needed to unify and pacify the nation.

At the time when this present book is written it is but five years since this stupendous effort began. Five years is a short time in the life of a nation, and it would be indeed foolish to base any forecast upon the results of so brief a period. All that we can do is to picture what this most recent experience in the life of this most ancient nation has involved of hopes and

fears, of achievement and disappointment, of struggle and victory. Only as this picture is vividly before us can we hope to enter into the present thought and aspiration of China, and so relate our thinking about Christian missions to a living situation.

LIONS IN THE PATH

Any government in China today must face a number of facts which may here be briefly set forth.

(1) Geographically China is a compact country, well cut off by seas and mountains from the rest of the world, penetrated by great rivers and having vast alluvial plains from which a population may draw sustenance. But even the unity derived from a common language and culture, shared traditions, similar racial characteristics and a long continued life in one area, is far from effective in China in the political sense. Communications are tedious and uncertain; provincial, clan and temperamental differences are deep, and recent political changes have produced fresh cleavages. China is in the process of discovering her nationhood. "The supreme problem in face of the sinister forces which are tending to disintegrate China is how to create the conception of nationality among the masses . . . and to convert this loose association of clan families into an organized nation-state."¹ Our first fact may, then, be stated thus: *politically* China

¹ Percy M. Roxby, *The Far Eastern Question in Its Geographical Setting*, p. 5. (The Geographical Association, Aberystwyth, Wales.)

lacks sufficient centripetal force to counteract centrifugal forces.

(2) One of the curious paradoxes of China is to be found in the fact that no country has had a higher concept of education and at the same time such an overwhelming proportion of people who cannot read and write. This may be explained in part by the nature of the ideographic script which calls for trained and prodigious memory, and in part by economic conditions. These are conditions which bring living to the very edge of the poverty line, and under which the people are unable to develop their land and industries without using all the available child labor, so that schooling for the masses appears an impracticability. Democracy requires an educated proletariat, and those who seek to build democratic institutions in China are faced with our second fact: *educationally* China is too backward to guarantee success to a republican form of government.

(3) Although China has vast undeveloped resources, she does not possess the capital needed for utilizing them, nor is she disposed to mortgage her future by contracting more loans on unfavorable terms from foreigners. In the long view her financial position is favorable, but for immediate needs she is desperately handicapped by political uncertainty and disunity, by famines and banditry, by having to maintain an enormous army, and by heavy interest charges on foreign loans. The silver exchange has gone so heavily against her in the last few years as still further

to slow down the normal rate of development. Her leaders have to deal with this third fact, inescapable and awkward in the extreme: *financially* China cannot command the ready money essential for carrying on the program of reconstruction to which she has set her hand.

(4) The modern scientific approach to nature has come upon China with alarming suddenness; ancient faiths have been shaken to their roots, and with them the codes of conduct which were based upon them. Nepotism has always been a problem in Chinese official life. It has been assumed that a man's advent to office carries with it sanction to bring in his family, and friends, and that the handling of public funds entitles the mandarin to his commission. Evidence is not wanting of cases since the inauguration of the National government of the continuation and even the accentuation of these evils. Unless the religious and traditional restraints now tending to break down are replaced by some forcible conviction of public duty, there is little hope of improvement. The small group to whom republican ideals have been almost a religion and who have followed them with selfless devotion have found it impossible to build up a group whose team spirit, loyalty to the nation, and high standard of public duty would triumph over personal ambition and greed. They have been faced with our fourth fact: *morally* China has not yet found herself in the rapidly changing world of ideas.

(5) New wine has been poured into the wineskins

of the old life. Its intoxicating effects have been felt especially among the younger generation. The Chinese temperament is proverbially rather easygoing, steady, undemonstrative, but of late it has seemed to be changing under an intense stimulation. Schools and colleges, factories and public institutions, have seen numerous strikes called sometimes for trivial reasons or for the purpose of voicing impossible demands. All kinds of causes have rushed into print. Demonstrations, parades, placards, public meetings have broken out like contagion. While much of this public expression has aimed at abolishing abuses, not a little has been silly and extreme. Those who have desired to stabilize China's life have had this fifth fact to face: *psychologically* China has been passing through a phase of hypersensitiveness and excitement during which it has been exceedingly difficult to work steadily for ends where quick results cannot be expected.

To these five facts it would be easy to add others; to some persons it may seem strange not to rank as of major importance the presence in China of foreigners and foreign governments with their special privileges, and the problems thus created. This certainly is a matter of continuous concern to government and people; during recent years especially it has loomed large on the horizon. As, however, it is part of the far wider problem of China's adjustment to the rest of the world, and as there are such large internal questions to be faced here, the subject is better held over to a subsequent chapter, the sixth.

WHITHER CHINA?

That China needs a steady, well integrated, constructive national government none of her friends would deny. To some it seems that this can be brought about only by a dictatorship on the Fascist model; to others, that a large degree of provincial autonomy like that of the several states in the United States is a condition of success; still others urge a constitution on soviet lines, though not perhaps with the communist philosophy and not to be set up by class war. Few national situations during the next fifty years are likely to prove more interesting and to develop in more surprising ways than that of China. He would be a bold man who would make any prophecy as to what the events will be, but there are a few indications of their general direction. Perhaps it is not too rash to state that the movement towards democracy has come to stay; that China will shape her own fate and brook ill any interference from without; that she will achieve before very long a large measure of order and unity (fifty years is a short period, but I do not believe she will need so long); that her industrial development will be phenomenal when once peace is established; that she will never be a menace to the rest of the world in the field of imperialistic adventure.

The American observer in China today is impressed by a marked contrast between it and his own country. Wherever he goes, among all classes of the popu-

lation, he finds an absorbing interest in politics. This is more generally true in the educated circles of the cities, but even in the least privileged country districts one finds a keen desire for the latest political news. It was not always so. When the present writer first went to China in 1905 no widespread attention was being directed to politics; in fact their discussion was strongly discouraged. "Do not discuss public affairs" was a motto freely displayed in tea houses. The advice was based partly no doubt on fear of consequences and partly on the assumption that these matters were best left to officials. How absurd such a caution would seem today! The change is of course largely due to the new form of government, but that is not all. Many Chinese have come to feel that the political situation lies behind all other issues, and that until it becomes more settled China cannot have the things she so sorely needs. Roads and railways, internal development, new schools and universities, freedom from banditry, better courts, labor legislation, all these and many other matters seem to halt¹ pending a national development which still seems far away. If, therefore, we of the West are to reach out a hand towards China, if indeed we are to understand her at all, we must keep in mind the political unsettlement of her contemporary life.

¹ There has been indeed a striking advance in some sections of the country in some of these fields. That is one of China's paradoxes. But the advance is as nothing to what would take place under a strong, settled, progressive national government.

THE NANKING GOVERNMENT

The present government of China is virtually in the hands of a few men who have held power since the middle of 1927.¹ The leading figure is Chiang Kai-shek, a Chekiang man who early identified himself with Sun Yat-sen in the government at Canton when it was opposed to the old central government in Peking, now Peiping. It is not possible here to trace the history of the last few years and the means whereby Chiang and his friends have maintained themselves against one threat to their power after another; the significant fact is that they have managed to do so. Their success is due to several factors, which may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) This group takes a middle position, neither reactionary like that of the old warlords nor communist like the short-lived government in Hankow. China has turned away from the military chieftains and their selfish policies, utterly rebellious at their exploitation of her over a number of years. Scarcely less decisively has she turned from a communism which threatened to carry away in a whirlwind of disaster her most cherished traditions and institutions.

¹ While this manuscript has been in course of preparation a new group has come into office. Negotiations still pending between the old leaders and the new make it impossible to write of the government which will be in control when these pages are studied. As several of the old officials are quite likely to return, it seems best to leave these paragraphs as they were drafted before the negotiations with Canton.

Perhaps in the light of recent events in Manchuria and the reaction to them of many Chinese, it would be wise to qualify this statement that she has turned against communism. It is, for example, too soon to say whether a decisive rejection took place when Borodin and his friends left Hankow. But certainly China needs moderate reformers today.

(2) A few outstanding personalities of ability and character have been able to stand together for a considerable period. Not only between selfish warlords but even within the Kuomintang, the Republican party, personal antagonism has tended to dominate politics. One of the most serious causes of trouble since 1911 has been the lack of mutual trust. It would seem as if some leaders had now emerged who are loyal to one another and to a common conception of China's welfare.

(3) The merchants and financial houses in Shanghai are supporting the new leaders because they see more chance of a settled state of affairs under them than under any present alternative group. It must be remembered that Shanghai more than any other center holds the purse-strings for China; Shanghai means more to China than New York means to the United States.

(4) A large measure of success has been secured in foreign negotiations. Tariff autonomy is complete, various concessions have been retroceded, and steps have been taken towards the ending of extraterritoriality. Unfortunately the comparative failure in

the handling of relations with Japan (which is being tragically emphasized as these lines are written) is a serious exception.

In addition to the four points just noted it may be observed that some progress has been made in the constructive program to which the government is committed, but that this progress has been disappointingly slow. The plan adopted by the party in October 1926 included the unification of the governmental, economic and military systems for the whole country; the development of land and water communications and the building of new ports; industrial and agricultural projects including afforestation and irrigation; educational reform, labor legislation, abrogation of "unequal treaties," and a number of other important items. It would have been an ambitious plan even for a government which had already been accepted by the nation; for a party still struggling against stupendous odds in a country like China, so far from unified under existing conditions and so backward in many respects, it might well have seemed like idealism run mad. The progress it has had, however small, is really remarkable when one considers the recurring attacks that have been made upon the Nanking government ever since it was established.

A CONTRAST

When the situation in China is compared with that in the United States it is easy to see why the political problem looms so much larger in the one than in the

other. The United States began her experiment in self-government nearly a century and a half ago. In its early stages this experiment had to encounter innumerable obstacles within and without. Yet the task before the young republic was simple compared to that before China today. The eighteenth century world into which the United States was born was a world where events moved with some deliberation. Economically the intense pressure of the machine age was just beginning. No trains, cables, airplanes, press agencies, broadcasts or moving pictures were mingling the destinies of the people with accelerating pace. A comparatively small population welded into one by a successful war presents a great contrast to the vast multitude of China's people in all stages of development and driven this way and that by a thousand relentless currents. In the present era of the world the United States can take for granted a settled government, a well-tested constitution, appropriate laws, a network of roads and railways, vast factories, a school system that covers the country, and a hundred other privileges that characterize our national life. A similar background is altogether lacking in China, and in addition the political uncertainty haunts the citizen at every turn.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the problems which trouble and divide China today are not in most cases her own in the sense in which America's were her own a century and a half ago. They are imported issues, not irrelevant to China's present need but

relevant only because China has suddenly found herself in the midstream of Western life, social, political, economic and religious. It may fairly be said, for example, that communism, which is a main bone of contention today, would not, in the ordinary development of indigenous institutions in China, have emerged as subject for even the wildest discussion for many a long day.

GROUND FOR HOPE

Once we have some understanding of existing conditions in China, we are on the road to an understanding of the position held by the dead leader Sun Yat-sen. Amid the constant fluctuations of personal fortunes, the intrigues of special groups, the popular denunciations and enthusiasms, the wars and rumors of wars, there stands one immovable figure whose deep-seated principles seem to exert even more influence because he himself is no longer among us to change them or to test them out, at the cost, perchance, of failure. "In death Dr. Sun was infinitely more powerful than he had ever been in life."¹ Within a few weeks after his death in Peking in March 1925 he had become a tradition, a hero, almost a god. In him and in the principles for which he stood Chinese patriots saw at last a chance for uniting and strengthening the nation.

What were these principles? The most accessible

¹ Dr. H. F. MacNair in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 152, p. 220.

statement of them is contained in Dr. Sun's *San Min Chu I, The Three Principles of the People*.¹ In that volume are a number of statements and illustrations which may be seriously questioned, and this fact, together with its diffuse style, may give some readers a certain distaste for the book. But it is worth overlooking all such objections for the sake of understanding the great principles for which China today is struggling—the principles spoken of as nationalism, democracy, and the people's livelihood. The first calls for unity and autonomy, for a nation which realizes her own national existence and expresses it in her own way. China does not stand for nationalism in the aggressive, imperialistic sense, but she does resist all that infringes on her rights as a nation, and in particular she demands of other nations that they treat her as an equal. The second principle establishes representative government in a form appropriate to China rather than as a copy of any Western model. Dr. Sun believed in giving to the people the rights of suffrage, recall, initiative, and referendum. He thought of government as an instrument for carrying out the will of the people, to be laid aside as soon as it fails so to do. Its functions are administrative and not dictatorial. They can be classified as legislative,

¹ This can now be obtained in the excellent English translation by F. W. Price under the title *San Min Chu I, The Three Principles of the People* (see bibliography). See also *The Triple Demism of Sun Yat Sen*, translated from the Chinese, annotated and appraised by Paschal M. d'Elia, S. J. (Wuchang, Franciscan Press, 1931), a scholarly study written from the Roman Catholic viewpoint.

judicial, and executive functions, and those of censorship and of examination for civil service. Five boards have been established to carry out these functions. The third principle, which is often called socialism, maintains that the state owes an adequate livelihood to all. This principle is seen as involving a limitation of what are commonly regarded as the rights of the capitalist—monopoly, absolute ownership of land, and so forth. Dr. Sun repudiated communism and the methods of violence associated therewith, but he advocated nationalization of the means of production, socialized distribution, graduated taxation, and other measures calculated to secure a more equal distribution of wealth and a rise in the standard of living for the masses. Furthermore, this third principle involves an active policy of increasing agricultural production through such means as the introduction of machinery, the eradication of insect pests and diseases that affect crops and cattle, and the improvement of transportation.

My only direct contact with Dr. Sun was when he was in control of the Canton government in 1921. He gave me the impression of being a determined and rather dogmatic person, yet approachable and by no means cut out to be a dictator, and absolutely devoted to China's welfare; a dreamer of dreams who nevertheless thought in terms of actual situations. His criticism of events and nations was incisive and made little allowance for the difficulties faced by men who, though sincere, lacked courage to meet the event. He

failed to carry out his plans partly because the plans were ahead of the times, and partly because he placed large confidence in untrustworthy agents. That he was utterly possessed by the democratic spirit and that he ardently believed in the principles he enunciated it seems to me impossible to deny.

We may take the three principles which Sun Yat-sen gave to China as the criterion whereby to measure her recent advance. In her movement towards national unity China has been held back by constant civil war. Yet there is a steadily growing conception of what national unity means; no one whose memory goes back even thirty years can doubt this. In her relations with foreign powers China is today far nearer to this ideal than ever before. As to the second principle, the organization of the government reflects the conceptions of Dr. Sun, but the one-party system means in China what it means in Russia—a dictatorship by a minority. The present period is a period of tutelage, and it is assumed that the way is being prepared for full democracy. It must be frankly admitted, however, that very little progress toward democracy has been made and that China, with some eighty-five per cent of her people illiterate, is still far from ready for universal suffrage. In respect to the third principle, the utter unsettlement of the country, the reign of communism and banditry in many parts, the financial drain of supporting huge armies, along with other factors have left the average Chinese citizen in worse case today than he was under the Manchu régime.

Little progress, save in a few select areas, has been made in the last five years.

Any estimate of the present situation based solely upon such an appraisal would leave out what is perhaps the most important element of hope. When Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang of Manchuria returned from a recent visit to Nanking and was asked what chiefly impressed him he used in reply a significant Chinese expression, *chao ch'i*, meaning literally "the morning air." The phrase conveys the sense of an eager, expectant, energetic approach to life and its problems. To find officials facing their task in that way was a marked contrast to the tired, uninterested, cynical "evening" approach which this young Chinese leader had doubtless often seen. When the leaders of a nation show zest and courage, when they believe in the future and "greet the unknown with a cheer," we need not be too much distressed over certain weaknesses and failures.

This quick review has tried to bring into relief the immense gain that has come to China's political life through her clearer definition of national aims. This clearer definition, along with the personality of Dr. Sun, has given a rallying point for sentiment and activity and an objective standard by which to test the achievements of politicians. There is no doubt that Sun Yat-sen was himself a remarkable man. Through years of exile and ostracism he maintained and worked out his ideals. No one has accused him of self-seeking. Not always fortunate in his choice of

friends, he nevertheless succeeded in evoking remarkable loyalty and devotion. When so many leaders were proving unworthy of the nation's confidence this man held to his course, putting first what he conceived to be China's welfare, and he holds accordingly an unrivaled place in the affections of his fellow-countrymen.

To these two factors—a courageous and hopeful spirit on the part of the people and a clearly defined aim personified in a great leader—may be added a third which gives ground for a measure of confidence as to the future of China. I refer to the signs of awakening among the masses and still more among the students, who are the chief leaders in the expression of public opinion. There is at least the beginning of a popular uprising in China today. The Anti-Opium Society, which has exercised a definite restraint upon officialdom, the mass education movement, rural development, even boycotts and strikes, can be taken as evidence that a new spirit is beginning to stir not only in the upper strata of society but throughout the body politic. Such a stirring may not always be peaceful. There may still be excesses and follies, as there always have been; but the presence of the new forces is a fact that provides ground for encouragement. Some foreign residents in China are indeed amazed at the actual progress made in view of the tremendous handicaps. It can be seen in the research work done in education, public health and agriculture, in the Chinese initiative in famine relief, and in other fields

of social need. Financial and other limitations account for the fact that much of this effort has not passed beyond the stage of investigation and small experimentation, but much more has been accomplished than the average newspaper reader realizes.

When we view with a sense of proportion and in relation to China's long history the past twenty years, and when we realize the profound changes involved in moving from a loose-jointed autocratic state to a modern republic with representative government, a national budget, a trained civil service and a coordinated national policy, we are not so much impressed by failures, mistakes, stupidities or even by strife as by the fact that there has been a definite movement in the right direction. China is learning to walk by walking; little by little great ideals are taking hold of increasing numbers of people and welding them together; there is a growing sense of the realities of the situation on the part of leaders; the spirit of reform is still undismayed by its many setbacks. China is on the road that leads from one stage to a new and a better one.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS

There has been and still is a hesitancy among people of other countries in helping China because of the unsettlement in her national life. Yet it is this very unsettlement that calls for help. When people counsel that it is better to wait before sending more missionaries, better to hold off till conditions improve, one is

fain to remind them of the vast amount of work which has long been carried on, of the many places where the sympathetic touch is the one thing needed to bring back confidence and hope, of the despair which falls upon our Chinese friends when they feel that we of the West are turning away at the moment of intensest need. Life in a gang-ridden city in the United States may not be any too secure, but who would dream of evacuating the city, refusing to teach the children, or to control traffic, or to preach in the churches, until the city government had been cleansed of all its evils? No more should this picture of China's masses, groping, ill-led and astray, be taken as a reason for reduction in the great effort to help her through.

What, it may be asked, are China's major political needs today?

First and foremost she needs more men with integrity, insight, knowledge, courage, devotion—in short, of character and statesmanship—who will be prepared to cooperate for the national good and to subordinate their personal prejudices and interests.

Secondly, China needs a clearer appreciation of the fact that the carrying out of a national policy is to be achieved only through loyalty, self-restraint, discipline, teamwork, a determination to cooperate on the part not of a few leaders only but of the entire population. No single problem seems at the moment more baffling than that of combination for the common weal.

A third need is disinterested help from the outside, help given not in a patronizing way nor with the aim

of gaining a hold upon the country politically, economically, or in any other wise. China is in a desperate situation, and the other nations are involved in her fate just as surely as they have been a contributing cause of her plight. Just as Austria and Germany and other European countries have needed the aid of international cooperation, so does China need help of this same order.

It would require the writing of a treatise to indicate all that is involved in the problems of China today. The attempt here has been merely to give the background needed for an appreciation of the fact that moral qualities in China's leaders, in the mass of her people, and in her foreign friends, are needed at least as much as greater knowledge and experience. There has been a feeling of dismay among Chinese over the breakdown of some of the earlier ideals of the republican leaders, in the form of vulnerability to graft, which comes back again under one form of government after another, and in the mutual recriminations and lack of loyalty to one another within as well as without the Kuomintang. In fact there are not wanting in China those who say frankly that China's gravest danger today is in the Kuomintang itself, and that one-party government is breaking down just because the one party has not a sufficient inner coherence.

Whence can come the kind of help which will enable China to push steadily on to the splendid goals

which Dr. Sun set before her and which the masses are coming to accept as their own?

THE MISSIONARY'S CONTRIBUTION

It is a notable fact that a large proportion of the leaders who have held together in recent years are men and women who have had a Christian education and who are not unwilling to be called Christian. This is the more remarkable when we realize the bitter attacks upon religion and upon Christianity in particular which have been launched by the very people who have been talking most loudly about the new China. Dr. Sun himself lived and died in the Christian faith. Dr. C. T. Wang, till recently Foreign Minister, had served as General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association for a number of years. Dr. H. H. Kung, who was made Secretary of Commerce, is an outstanding Christian. General Chiang Kai-shek was recently baptized into the Christian church. Others who have held or now hold responsible posts could easily be added to the list. Outstanding as a Christian influence in recent years have been the personalities of the late Madame Soong, her daughters, Madame Sun Yat-sen, Madame Chiang, and Madame Kung, and her son, T. V. Soong. They have all made their contribution towards realizing higher ideals for the country, and their Christian position and sympathies have never been concealed.

Many factors have combined to bring to the front the present group of leaders; but it may fairly be

asked whether it is simply a coincidence that, when anti-Christian forces are active and when scarcely one Chinese in a thousand is a member of a Protestant Christian church, so many avowed Christians should have been entrusted with the destinies of the country. The question is raised not in order to glorify the missionary work of the church but rather that we may consider afresh what is the nature of the Christian contribution to the solution of China's political problem. It would not seem to lie in the field of defining issues and shaping large policies. It may lie in the field of providing a helpful personnel, developing character in leader and in led, bringing good-will and understanding into all contacts, lifting the field of politics into a higher sphere. The missionary did not come to China to change political life. He should not for one moment regard any such aim as his, yet it is true that he is a factor in the amazing changes which are taking place, for one cannot advocate a new way of personal living and escape a measure of responsibility for social change. Watching this change with sympathy and appreciation, realizing that China not less than Western nations needs public leaders of the very highest quality, and shamed by the failure of those nations to show the spirit of Christ in their dealings with China, what should the missionary do to make his contribution, however small it might be, to the solution of China's political problems?

CHAPTER II

EDUCATING A FIFTH OF THE WORLD

PERHAPS the first and most obvious answer to the question with which we closed the last chapter would be found in the realm of education. Here, at any rate, the missionary has helped China. He has built and manned and endowed schools and colleges. He has exhibited the Christian spirit as a teacher. He has built into many thousands of lives ideals and principles which have stood the test in difficult days. It may be that in the early days many schools were opened primarily as a means of winning the acceptance of young people and bringing them into an environment which might lead them to associate themselves with the church, and it has been suggested that schools were a kind of bait for bringing boys and girls to Christ, although that conception has been transcended long ago in most cases. The fact remains that many schools were started to educate the children of Christian parents rather than as an evangelistic agency. Today the educational work of the church is viewed as an inevitable expression of her desire to help, as an instrumentality by which the best type of leadership can be developed, whether for the church or for the community at large.

But when we make this first obvious answer to the challenge of China's political need, we are met on

the very threshold with the fact that at this moment new difficulties are being encountered by the Christian educator. China, in seeking to establish a single unitary system for her education, desires quite rightly to bring into it all the various institutions of learning set up by foreigners. To do this she asks that all schools register with the education authorities of the government and comply with certain specified regulations, a perfectly reasonable demand. Registration implies Chinese management and direction, a requirement no foreigner has any just reason to resent as long as the educational and moral standards of an institution can be maintained. When, however, it appears that religious teaching may not be included at all in the primary and lower middle schools; when it is even excluded from the building in out-of-school hours; and when Christian pictures and texts may not be displayed on the walls, the question arises, at least in some minds, as to whether the foreign missionary can continue in this field of activity. Is he going to find that a contribution which has been so successfully given in the past can be given no longer? To answer this question we need to have some knowledge of China's special educational problem, as well as some understanding of the objectives and methods of education everywhere.

CHINA'S TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

All the world knows that China stands in the forefront among the nations for the honor she has paid to learning. Her scholars, renowned throughout the

world, have won a place in the national esteem far surpassing that of her soldiers and rulers. Those periods in her history which are thought of with greatest pride are the periods when learning was at its height and when great teachers flourished. The ancient writings and even the very piece of paper on which the ideographic script had been written were revered, so that it became a sacred duty to pick up and preserve any such scrap of paper. Furthermore, for long periods in Chinese history education was the one road to public service, and only those who had achieved highest distinction in the examination hall could hope to reach important positions in the state.

In a certain sense it might even be said that China's education was democratic. The road was open to any who could tread it, and some of China's scholars were drawn from very poor families. In this respect it contrasted strongly with the Indian caste education. But in point of fact the way was so long and tedious that great staying powers and not a little financial backing were needed by the student, and the difficulties inherent in the classical language and the ideographic script limited the educated class not less severely than it was limited in medieval Europe. Popular education and popular literature were unknown. The net result was a highly specialized intellectual aristocracy.

The educational system of China has been deeply imbued with moral ideas. The learning of the classics called for a concentration of effort that was in itself moral discipline. The substance of the classical writ-

ings is interpenetrated with moral concepts, and these are based not to any considerable extent upon man's relation to God but rather upon his relation to his fellow-man and to the social order. It may fairly be said that sometimes the rule of expediency was advocated rather than that of absolute moral obligation, yet the latter note is by no means absent. The great teachers of China have been her great moralists. Here, then, we have a nation cradled in ideals of virtue and learning which have stood the test of many centuries and which still must be thought of as worthy of perpetuation.

Yet the outstanding fact of China's educational life today is her turning away from traditional and well-tried values in the direction of new ones. One of the most popular slogans of the present régime is, "Science can save the world." No school is equipped unless it can show a modern side with all the apparatus of Western education. The difficulty of holding students in classes devoted to Chinese subjects is one that almost every educator in China has faced—a difficulty due in part certainly to antiquated teaching methods, though the use of modern methods in many schools has changed this situation in part.¹ But there are also deeper causes. What are some of these causes?

(1) In the first place, the ancient system was rigid and lacked elasticity. As new situations developed

¹ New methods for teaching Chinese subjects have now been introduced and have become very popular where well employed, but the old classical studies are being discarded in modern schools.

there was no principle of change in the structure. Soon after it began to be exposed to the influences of Western science it showed signs of inadequacy. It could not meet and overcome the new conceptions by any inner adaptation. It cracked from top to bottom and collapsed as the tide of new interests and problems rushed in upon the new China.

(2) Furthermore the educational system was not related in any organic way to many important aspects of life. The scholar was a man apart. Education could lift a man out of his family and put him into one or two specialized fields of effort, notably those of politics and teaching, but it was not designed for use in the places where people for the most part meet their problems, in the market place or the home or the occupational field.

(3) Such an education could never be popular. It was eclectic. The great masses, as has been noted, were untouched by it. The script itself made a barrier, being so vastly harder to achieve than an alphabet. The language in which the classics were written was not the language of the people. Learning was the prerogative of the few.

(4) Chinese traditional education concentrated on the content of the material rather than on the development of the student's mental powers. The teacher's primary duty was to hand on what had been received from the past, not to help the student to think for himself, a habit to be in fact discouraged. It may be that this deeply ingrained conception is partly to blame

for the difficulty experienced in many Chinese schools in securing teachers who accept any kind of responsibility other than the actual teaching work. Discipline has usually to be handed over to a separate authority and in many cases is markedly lacking.

Such an education was from the nature of the case unsuited to the needs of a country which was seeking to meet a whole world of new facts and ideas and to take over the democratic institutions and ideology of the Western world. To fashion a new system of education, to give to the nation a new outlook, to train teachers having a new spirit, was indeed to undertake a herculean task.

FASHIONING A NEW SYSTEM

The pioneers in this effort were foreign missionaries. Little realizing in most cases the magnitude of the task to which they were setting their hands, these men and women set up hundreds of schools where the new learning could be secured. In 1879 there were but three hundred and twenty-seven such schools, with less than six thousand pupils. In ten years the numbers of both had doubled. At that period missionaries were almost alone in the field, often working against strenuous opposition, always seeking to break down ignorance and inertia. When the National Christian Conference met in 1922 the situation was wholly different. Not only had the number of Christian schools and colleges risen to the huge figure of seven thousand and forty-six, but the Chinese people, through

their own government and through many private individuals, were taking hold of the whole problem in dead earnest. Even this widespread educational effort by foreigners was seen to be but a fraction of the total provision being made towards the meeting of educational needs. The statistics for 1923 showed nearly six and a half million children in government schools and about half a million in mission schools,¹ which shows roughly the immense change from even the early part of the century. It is probable that in spite of the disorganized state of the country in subsequent years there has been a continued gain in government and private schools. Semi-official estimates based upon statistics for a part of the country indicate that the total number of students in all schools in China for the year 1928-29 was approximately eleven millions. Mission schools in this period appear, from the incomplete reports available, to have dropped somewhat in enrolment.

Far more important than the magnitude of this Chinese educational effort, significant as that is during years of civil war and economic depression, is the study of the guiding ideas which have inspired the whole movement. To these we must now turn.

1. *Influence of the West*

Those Chinese who have inaugurated and directed education since the revolution have in nearly all cases been educated abroad. They have gained their philos-

¹ Stated by Dr. Paul Monroe in *China: A Nation in Evolution*, p. 278.

ophy of life and their technique of education from Western countries far more than from China herself. The immense material progress, the far higher standard of living, the political and military power achieved by the nations of Europe and America and more recently by China's own neighbor Japan, have been traced by these Western-trained Chinese in the main to two causes, scientific discovery and invention, and the type of modern education based thereon. Whatever direction China might take during the next few centuries, her immediate need in their judgment was to acquire the knowledge of how to live and how to maintain her independence in a world where everything was controlled by these forces. To bring as many as possible of China's youth out from the shades of ancient fables into the light of scientific truth seemed the immediate necessity. At first many schools were established which had modernity only in name, and it was pathetic to see teachers who possessed the merest smattering of Western learning trying to make that little go far. With surprising speed, however, the provision of teachers, the remodeling of the curriculum, and the equipment of the schools has been pushed forward. There are still many inadequate schools but what amazes one is not so much the failure or comparative failure of some as the remarkable success of others.

The Westernization of Chinese education has felt certain strong influences. The Anglo-American influence is perhaps the strongest, with special emphasis

upon the influence of Columbia University and the brilliant group of educationists, Dewey, Monroe, Kilpatrick, McCall and others, whose teaching in New York and whose visits to China have so largely shaped the present educational system of the nation. To these sources in large measure may be traced the emphases on democracy in education, on coeducation, and on the thoroughgoing acceptance of the scientific approach. France has also supplied an important element in shaping the educational development. To this influence may be traced the organization of the schools under a system which contains several areas with a government university as center of each, and the reorganization of the Ministry of Education into an independent National Academy in 1926-29.¹ The persistent opposition to any religious teaching in the schools may also be due mainly to this source. In recent years the Russian influence has doubtless greatly strengthened the latter tendency. It cannot, I think, be maintained that Germany has as yet done much to shape China's educational policy, save indirectly through Japan. We can trace, however, in a few places a growing doubt as to whether the free method has been carried too far and whether there may not be a need to emphasize intensive, thorough scholarship as against the generalized and somewhat superficial learning of recent years. China is still

¹ In 1929 under Dr. Chiang Mou-lin the Ministry of Education was reestablished, while some elements in the 1926 scheme were retained.

thinking her way into the problem of how far she can go in taking on Western ideas in this field.

2. *China's New Culture Movement*

It would be a great mistake to assume that the whole trend of modern education in China owes its impetus and its directing force to the West. In the early days this might have been said with much truth. Two systems and two philosophies of life came into acute conflict and a choice had to be made. The Boxer outbreak in 1900 was the last mighty effort of resistance made by the old system. After that time it became increasingly clear that victory lay with the new. In the years of intense conflict no compromise seemed possible. It did not, however, take long for a generation to arise which appreciated the danger of throwing over the old completely. It was not those who fought against change but rather some of the very leaders of the new movement who brought China back to her own history and traditions. This they did by making the boldest possible attempt to reinterpret the past. They saw that new weapons must be forged and a new approach worked out if ancient truths were to be made effective in the life of today. Even a scholar like Dr. Hu Shih, a graduate of Cornell and Columbia and a keen advocate of Western learning, has been concerned to introduce new aims and methods into Chinese processes of study and to apply critical scholarship to the classics themselves, and he is only one of a group who are looking toward a

genuine synthesis between what is best in East and West. Only thus, they hold, can the new educational process be kept on an even keel and new values be born out of "cross-fertilization of cultures."

On the first of January, 1917, when the Western world was utterly absorbed in self-destruction, it was Dr. Hu Shih who launched a campaign in the field of thought which may have, in the long story of the human race, effects no less profound than the ultimatum which precipitated the World War. Every student of history will recall what far-reaching influences followed when the vernaculars of Europe at last were made into the means whereby scientific and religious truth could be promulgated, and men ceased to regard Latin and Greek as the only languages in which great thoughts could be written down. It was just such a change which was proposed in China on this eventful day—a change that brought to a focus a movement which had been working long before but which had not definitely challenged as yet the ascendancy of the literary tradition. Immemorial custom ordained that literature, religion, poetry, philosophy, and all educational texts should be written in the Wen-li, or scholar's language, and that only. Hu Shih and his friends were so successful that in less than four years the Ministry of Education decreed that the simplified writing should be used in all textbooks for children and soon afterwards extended the order to the higher grades. The government published a dictionary to aid the movement; the country was flooded with new

literature written in the people's tongue; translations of profound treatises were made in it; stories and poetry in the same style flooded the market. The doors of learning had been opened by one bold stroke to the masses of the people.¹

But the interesting thing is that it was this new weapon which more than anything else helped to steady the rush towards the West by opening the door to China's own literature. It was no longer sacrilege to put the thoughts of the sages into the common tongue. The magnitude of such a change can be realized when we know that as early as 120 B.C. Wen-li was unintelligible even to minor officials and still more to common men. In the world of education Hu Shih's challenge was thus not less than the challenge made to economic privilege at about the same time by Lenin in Russia. It met with the same kind of opposition, but the time had come for the overthrow of the citadel and great was the fall thereof. "The movement for the reorganization of the national culture" came directly out of this new approach. Many Chinese realized that revaluation of the old was not less necessary than the acceptance of the new.

"Before the so-called 'new culture movement' could create a new culture, it had first to make a settlement with the old; it had to understand the past—the true

¹ It is only fair to the missionary translators to point out that by putting out the Mandarin editions of the Bible long before this movement, they had pointed the way to the emancipation from Wen-li which came so dramatically after 1917.

past—in order to be emancipated from it. This explains why, much to the amazement of Westerners, the outstanding Chinese intellectuals of our day have not been concerned primarily with the creation of constitutions and parliaments and new codes of laws but with the reorganization and the revaluation of their culture from the modern point of view. The reason is that Western machinery of government simply cannot function until the dead timbers of the past have been either discarded or appraised at their true value.”¹

One surprising result of the historical criticism of Chinese literature has been the growing conviction that her authentic history cannot be traced back to an earlier date than the ninth century B.C. Much that has been regarded as authentic is today questioned. A movement for collecting folk-songs has been inaugurated as a method of recapturing some of the lost past, and more than twenty thousand examples of folk music have been collected. Even though dates must be reconsidered and traditions become less venerable, a vast deal remains which China has now the task of assessing and relating to her present needs and methods of education. She has begun this task in earnest, but she is still only at the beginning.

¹ A. W. Hummel on “The New-Culture Movement in China,” *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, vol. 152, p. 58, an article which gives able and clear statement in brief space. The writer would not, of course, imply in the above statement that China’s new governmental system will or should be simply a replica of any Western model.

3. *Adult Education*

Arising directly out of the movement just described and yet by no means to be confused with it is the so-called mass education, or adult education, which is associated with the name of another of China's leading spirits, James Yen. It must be borne in mind that even the reformers of the new culture movement did not attempt to replace the ancient ideographic script with a phonetic language modeled on either the alphabet of Europe or Japanese Kana. There is a phonetic system in use; indeed, several such systems have been worked out in different areas, and some have been of great value in enabling illiterate and in particular elderly people to read books printed in such script. The missions have been in this field also among the pioneers. It must nevertheless be admitted, even by those who have advocated and used these methods, that the ideograph has its firm hold in China today and is unlikely to be replaced, in spite of all its drawbacks, for many a long day. It seems indeed to be a necessity. It is a language entirely monosyllabic, where one sound may do duty for a hundred or more different meanings. The new *Pai Hua* or people's language is introducing many new terms. It is expanding along the lines long used in the vernacular where combinations of two or more sounds do duty for a fresh idea. The language by this means is virtually becoming polysyllabic, and as the tendency increases it could more readily be written in a

phonetic script. The immediate task, however, is to put the language in its present form at the disposal of a far larger number of persons. Behind the plan of those who seek to accomplish it lies the belief that a democracy must rest upon a literate population. In order to share the treasures of the past and the ideas of today with the people as a whole it is not enough to have forged the weapon of a popular language. The language must be put into the hands of every man. This is the stupendous adventure to which the thousand-character movement has set its hand. The origin and brief history of this movement is a modern epic.

James Yen, a fine Christian with boundless enthusiasm and initiative, worked among the coolies in France during the war. Their ignorance shocked and challenged him. Little by little, with infinite patience, he worked at the problem of selecting a thousand characters from the Chinese script which would be most useful to them as a basis of learning. He devised methods of visual teaching and later of mass teaching. He aroused enthusiasm in other young men. He drew to himself many of first-rate ability who were prepared to devote their lives to the ignorant villagers. He gained the support of well-disposed persons in China and abroad. With constant adjustment and experimentation his group have built up a technique for this education. Now they are building a literature in which the thousand characters are employed as a basis, with additions here and there when these are absolutely necessary. Beginning as a purely literary

effort, the movement now deals with many fields of social and economic life; with the farmer's problems, with simple economic facts and facts about health, with matters of family concern as well as with the duties of citizenship. Education is not thought of in terms of book learning but in terms of everyday living. Here, then, is another factor which we need to understand if we are to see the varied bearings of China's educational problem.

4. *State Requirements*

Reference has already been made to the desire to work out a unitary system for the country. Such a system, the Chinese leaders feel, should be the creation of the Chinese people, the expression of their own ideals, calculated to develop their country into a nation capable of taking her rightful place in the family of nations. At the National Educational Conference in April 1930 a far-reaching program was outlined by representatives from twenty-one provinces. It calls for four years of free education for all children, for vocational and teacher training on a large scale, and for much emphasis on citizenship. It is a twenty year plan. If anything approaching this can be carried through in that period it will be a notable achievement.¹

In any period of rapid national development there is likely to be sensitiveness to foreign interference,

¹ See article by Dr. Herman Liu in *China Christian Year Book* for 1931, pp. 175-81.

and this has expressed itself in the educational field in the protest against what has been called "cultural exploitation." The earliest expression of this may be traced to about the year 1922. At this time the World's Student Christian Federation held a conference in Peking at which the influence of Christianity in the student world was seen vividly for the first time by many Chinese. In the same year a joint commission from Great Britain and America studied the educational work of missions, and its report focussed attention on the significance of the Christian approach and helped many Chinese to realize how large a place education held in Christian activities in China. The effect of certain Western personalities whose presence and writings deeply affected Chinese students must also be reckoned an important contributory factor, the most important of these having been, perhaps, Mr. Bertrand Russell, who was in China in 1921 and who for a time exercised almost a fascination for young Chinese. The anti-religious activity of Soviet Russia had a marked influence in the more extreme groups. These four causes accentuated and brought to a focus a widespread opposition to religion which took the form of an attack particularly upon Christian schools and colleges.

The more extreme expressions of this opposition may be regarded as temporary incidents, unpleasant enough but incidental to a period of national enthusiasm and of high tension in international relations. The government never officially adopted the position

taken by the more violent. It cannot be doubted, however, that in its policy of unification the prevailing suspicion of Christian education played a large part. One decree after another was issued, designed to bring all education under governmental control. In varied ways these decrees tended to limit the religious element in the schools. It soon became evident that only as Christian schools fulfilled the requirements of registration could they hope to maintain a useful position or indeed their very existence. What was involved in registration? It was very difficult to be sure what was involved in it because of differences between northern and southern governments (no longer prevailing), because of provincial and local regulations often more severe than those of the national government, and because the interpretation put upon the requirements varied so greatly. After a time certain points were made increasingly clear: for Christian schools Chinese principals must be appointed; Chinese must form a majority on the boards of control; religious exercises must not be required and in primary and junior middle schools not even offered; religious teaching must not be included in the curriculum of primary and junior middle schools, and only as a voluntary subject in higher schools; the aim of the school must not be religious propaganda.

To these has been added the prohibition of all religious teaching in primary schools. In Chapter I, Article 5 of the Regulations we read: "A private school founded by a religious body is not permitted

to give religion as a required subject, nor is religious propaganda permitted in the class instruction. If there are any religious exercises, students shall not be compelled or enticed to participate. No religious exercises shall be allowed in primary schools." Just how much of this plan will finally be put into operation and how wide an interpretation will be given to some points cannot yet be safely prophesied. It is already evident that in many places officials are not inclined to press the letter of the law, and that once a school registers, it is given a good deal of rope. But enough has been said to make it clear that a problem of no small magnitude has been created for the missions and churches. Oriental and Occidental differences of procedure partly account for the situation. The former virtually says, "Agree to my demand and I will not be too particular as to detail"; the latter, "If I agree to this it may be made to mean much more than I see on the surface, and once bound I shall not be able to escape."

Briefly it may be pointed out on this whole subject of state requirements:

(a) That the idea of religious freedom is differently interpreted as between Chinese educators and foreigners, the former emphasizing the freedom of the child as against the parent or teacher who would put a particular religion before him to the exclusion of others, and the latter emphasizing the freedom of the church to establish and the parent to use schools where the child may receive the teaching they favor. The

point may be made clear by quoting the reply from the Ministry of Education to the petition of the Chinese churches on the subject in July 1930: "There is not only *one* religion. If we allow each religion in the name of education to vie one with the other to propagate religion, the natural tendency will be to create divisions and strife. . . . To have elective religious courses in junior middle schools and to have the privilege of worship in primary schools embodies obstacles too difficult to permit the Ministry to grant the request." State schools in the United States are subject to similar limitations in respect of religious teaching. But the present position in China is more difficult because registration brings a school under these rules however it has been founded or is supported, because registration is being urged upon all schools, and because it is more than likely that if the present tendency persists, none but registered schools will be permitted to function.

(b) That there is a fair field for difference of opinion as to what will be the most effective way of helping young people to appreciate religious values. Missionaries feel that to give a religious background to all education is of immense value and that to omit it is to rob the child of part of his inheritance; others not less religious believe that if the choice is left to the child and the right atmosphere provided, he will freely elect and so come to accept for himself what he is more likely to reject if it is in any sense forced upon him.

(c) That a nation is right in regarding education as a vital national interest, seeking in her own way to unify it, to safeguard it from foreign interference, and to put it under national control. At the same time the interests of education suffer from overstandardization and from the subordination of the child's interests to state politics. "Those who at the present time," says Dr. Paul Monroe, "are agitating for the eliminating of Christian schools are unknowingly working for the curtailment and limitation of the very thing they desire: that is, the development of government education."

It should be clear that the government policy is not, as far as can be ascertained, the elimination of Christian schools. But so sharply has that policy been shaped by those who do desire this result that the conditions for registration may force such schools to close their doors. This has already happened in several cases.

It is only fair to the Chinese government to recognize that the problem caused by the presence of a large number of schools and colleges established by foreigners and conducted according to their ideals is no easy one. Quite apart from the religious aspect of the question, standardization and improved efficiency must be secured, and many mission schools have left much to be desired, being a legacy from days when any education was better than none, and when supervision over education was left to a hard-worked evan-

gelistic or general missionary scarcely if at all prepared to administer it.

It must be admitted further that the religious teaching in these schools has, from an educational standpoint, too often been the least satisfactory of the teaching given. So true is this that many Chinese and missionary educators believe that a real service has been done when such has been the case by imposing the rule that religious teaching may be given only as an elective subject. The faculty is challenged to put its best foot forward when students can be held only in voluntary classes, and slipshod work brings its own prompt reward. Moreover, the faculty is further stimulated so to live as to win by their lives rather than by indoctrination in the classroom. The missionary in China is working under Chinese leadership and often in the finest cooperative spirit to make every school activity an expression of the very spirit of Christ, and his work has received fresh stimulus from the situation described.

It is evident also that non-Christian Chinese educators are thinking very seriously about the moral and disciplinary aspects of the existing secondary education. All is not well. Mr. C. S. Shen¹ in a recent study picks out six "undesirable attitudes" in middle school students, observing that they are dissatisfied with the present social order, content with self, arrogant, un-

¹ *Educational Magazine*, vol. xvii, no. 6, quoted in *Education Review* for July 1931, p. 321. This writer can hardly be regarded as typical and is quoted only as indicating one point of view.

duly interested in love affairs, despise real study, and care about book learning only in the sense of memorizing. Whatever we may think of this particular analysis of attitudes, any observer of Chinese students will be driven to confess that there have been serious symptoms among them in recent years. The author just referred to thinks things are getting worse. The tragedy of the situation is that few if any of the leaders seem to see in the right type of religious training the one adequate way of meeting it.

5. *Nationalizing the Schools*

Another phase of the situation remains to be dealt with, which is in a sense only the other side of the picture. I refer to the attempt to make Chinese schools in the fullest sense nationalistic. This attempt is evidenced in several ways. Every school is expected to observe a weekly ceremony at which the picture of Dr. Sun is displayed, his will recited, three ceremonial bows given, and a period of silence observed. The teaching of his principles is a required part of every school curriculum, and attempt is made to have this teaching done by appointees of the Kuomintang. Military drill is increasingly used, and is being made compulsory. Schools have been expected to furnish their quota to patriotic demonstrations on pain of fine or ostracism, although this has not been part of any government program. Student participation in political activities has indeed been checked in some degree by the more recent actions of the department

of education. In fact the authorities, while recognizing the contribution made by students to the rousing of China to her dangers and her needs, are coming to see the grave danger to general education arising from this political excitement and activity in the school, and have imposed regulations for a stricter discipline and severer limitation against such. The tremendously excited interest of students in politics remains, however, a continuous menace to their school work, as witness their alarming activities in reference to the Manchurian situation. No government in China dares face a mass movement of students or deal really drastically with it.

NEW INTEREST IN RELIGION

At the time of this writing, reports are at hand from all over China which tend to show that so far as the attitude toward religion is concerned the tide has turned, and that students in Christian schools are responding to the opportunities offered them, even at a time when so many people are putting religion into the discard. The Yale middle school at Changsha, a city that has been the center at various times in recent years of communist activities, reports ninety-two per cent of its students freely electing Bible courses when only thirty-three per cent are Christians, and as many as eighty-two per cent voluntarily attending church services—an encouraging though hardly a typical case. From Canton we hear that great improvement has taken place in the religious life at

Lingnan University. From Hangchow we learn that five out of six of the students, totaling four hundred and fifty-one, have been enrolled in elective courses of religious content, while many have recently been received into church membership. Instances such as these could be multiplied many times. It is not true in all cases but it is true in many that the change to the voluntary system has quickened interest and inspired eagerness. It is clear that the story of Jesus has still its power to hold attention, and that regulations cannot rule out the living force of the gospel.

Another striking illustration of the fact that a forward-looking Christian program is still possible in a Chinese registered university comes from the University of Shanghai, until recently known as Shanghai College. Under the presidency of Dr. Herman Liu this institution is fully maintaining its religious character. A "religious emphasis week" observed in the early summer of 1931 led to many decisions for Christ. The president said then, "The work of character building and religious education on a voluntary basis will be emphasized more than ever before"; and yet in the following August, so far from a diminution of students seeking entrance, there were nine hundred applicants for three hundred places.

THE PROBLEM RESTATED

Enough has perhaps been cited from the long and interesting story of China's reorganization of her

educational policy to indicate the salient problems, and to enable us to see our own urgent need for rethinking missionary and church policy in relation to these rapid and perplexing changes. On the one hand we see China striving to meet her responsibilities to her own youth in a statesmanlike way, to keep hold of the finest in her own past while reaching out for the best offered by other nations, to make fundamental revaluations while reaffirming ancient values, to open up the fields of knowledge to the masses of the people at a time when funds are desperately low and an adequate number of trained teachers impossible to secure, to use education as a means of strengthening national unity while maintaining freedom and elasticity, to preserve what the missionary has to bring to the field while checking any tendency to subordinate education to proselytism.

On the other hand we see the missionary and the Chinese church called upon to reach standards of efficiency that make tremendous and ever increasing demands upon their limited resources, to maintain the Christian character of their schools when opportunity for direct religious effort has been curtailed, to serve the interests of the country while in no way abating their insistence upon a supreme loyalty to God and to conscience, to meet in a good temper unreasonable criticism and attack, to make adjustment to a situation which is hard to define and which changes in a bewildering way, to preserve discipline when strikes and

protests are in the air, to relinquish (as far as the missionary is concerned) the reins of authority into the hands of Chinese who have less experience and may in some cases let down the standards so laboriously built up.

From whichever angle we may look at the situation it is full of difficulties. Yet the difficulties are glorious difficulties. In facing them together Chinese and foreigners are coming to a more intimate understanding of one another and of the problem which affects them both, the problem of how to develop the finest manhood and womanhood of which China is capable. All are more than ever alive to the fact that the Christian influence of a school depends not mainly on specific teaching and worship, important as these are, but on the personalities who carry it on, their mutual loyalty, integrity, sympathy, sincerity—in fact, their Christlikeness.

Thus stated the aim is indeed a single aim. Yet the missionary and the Chinese Christian have seen in addition what many of China's educators neither see nor are willing to see. They have seen Jesus of Nazareth as the supreme figure in history, the one whose life will inspire to the truest character and the purest patriotism, the one in whom men may vision the nature of God himself and through whom they may find union with God and share his purposes, which must surely be for China the best she can aspire towards. How may schools which express this faith

be carried on in the China of today? For a period it may seem very difficult indeed under such severe limitations. Yet may it not be that in holding on through this period Chinese Christians will win the right to a larger freedom in their educational work?

CHAPTER III

TAMPERING WITH THE SOCIAL ROOTS

NOTHING is more characteristic of China than her system of social organization, resting as it does on the family and the clan, and rooted as it is in the past and in time-honored tradition. In every ancient civilization there have been common customs and ideals connected with marriage, parenthood, birth, puberty, and death which have served to bind the members together. It is in the intimate relationships of the family, in the necessary adjustments of one member to another, in the observance of religious duties, in the talk round the table, in the performance of household tasks and the exchange of family loyalties that personalities are shaped during their most formative years. Moreover, the social organization within the family group tends not only to influence but actually to shape the larger organizations of government and trade into which its members pass as they assume their hereditary responsibilities. The patriarchal family, in which unlimited power over each member is possessed by the head, is congenial to autocratic government; the freer interplay of person with person where the rights of the youngest are respected is more likely to build up a democratic state.

The industrial revolution in the world at large has

affected no institution more deeply than it has affected the family. The uprooting of multitudes from the soil and their settlement in cities where there are no family traditions has been a strong disintegrating force in Western society. Rapid transportation, the consequent rush of modern life, the multiplication of available amusements and the questioning mental attitude toward all kinds of institutions and customs, have contributed to a state of things, even in America, which we cannot view without concern. Family ties are constantly strained or broken and the basis of our social order is felt to be insecure. If we see that modern forces have worked such changes in this country, need we be surprised at even more far-reaching changes in China? "There are untold cases of unhappy betrothals, unhappy marriages and illegitimate cohabitation. . . . The newspapers are filled with the complaints of unhappy youth, disappointed in matrimonial or love affairs. . . . They are no longer willing to listen to dogmatic voices concerning such matters."¹ To one who looks beneath the surface, no problem in China is more pressing than that connected with the family. Is this a place where the Christian movement has anything to offer?

THE FAMILY AT THE CENTER

It is recorded in the classics that before the time of the Emperor Fu Hsi, who established the marriage

¹ T. C. Chao in *The Student World*, Third Quarter, 1931, pp. 209-10.

rite, "people knew only their mothers and not their fathers," which indicates a time, mythical perhaps, when the family was not a recognized institution. But for as far back as actual history stretches, the family has been cherished, and there are many families today which can trace their ancestry back for five and twenty centuries. It makes the Westerner feel that his own society is too young to talk with a man whose family tree contains over one hundred generations, well authenticated and often carrying names that have figured honorably in the nation's history for one or two thousand years. One of China's leaders today is of the seventy-fifth generation from Confucius, who in turn in the fifth century before Christ traced his family back for twenty or thirty generations. When we touch the Chinese family, therefore, we are dealing with something majestic, venerable, significant beyond anything we know in America. It is this institution which is threatened by the impious, insistent West. To understand its power and place in Chinese life we may observe its characteristics at several different points.

(1) The family is the center of the religious and moral life. China has been spoken of as the Land of the Three Religions. It is a notable fact that the three coexistent systems have made each its own contribution to the national life. Underlying all Chinese religion, however, is the ancient custom of ancestor worship. This may be said to have established from

the start the concept of family loyalty. Every home in China has, or had until recently, its shrine containing the tablets inscribed with the names of ancestors, and every Chinese boy is trained to perform rites of ceremonial respect before the shrine. From their earliest years the children learn to think of their ancestors as still living, as requiring their worship and offerings at least three times a year, and as capable of bringing to them help in time of need. Around these religious ideas have grown up ethical ones, the basic ethical idea being obedience or filial piety. Of the five relations which all Chinese are expected to observe, three concern the relations of family life, namely the relation between husband and wife, between father and son, and between elder brother and younger. Some years ago I heard a Chinese Christian say that Christianity had taken religion out of the Chinese home and transferred it to the church. He had been brought up to observe within the household itself such simple religious ceremonials as the offering of prayer when the new-born child is laid on its bed for the first time, the ceremonies connected with the going and returning of the kitchen god at the New Year and so forth, and a certain sanctity had thus been given to home life. The Christian church had shifted the center of religious observance from the household to the church itself, and to that extent it seemed to him that family life was being impoverished. But it must not be assumed that Christianity is the one or

indeed the prime factor in producing this result.¹ If the family, for whatever causes, is tending to lose its power to give the ultimate sanctions to the moral life and to create reverent and loyal personalities, something of inestimable value is passing out of China's life.

(2) The family is the training ground for citizenship. The world to the Chinese has been one great family. Everyone knows the famous saying, "*T'ien hsia i chia* (Under heaven there is one family)," but not everyone realizes that it is only a part of a couplet of which the second half is "*chung kwei i jen* (China is one member of it)." This may be paralleled by other sage maxims: "The foundation of the nation is in the family," "The holy man rules the nations by filial piety." Says Wilhelm in his *History of Chinese Civilization*, "By a simple extension of the meaning of this obligation [filial piety] family relations should have their counterpart in the conditions obtaining in the state. When transferred to the prince, the natural attachment of the son to the father becomes the obligation of loyalty, just as paternal care becomes the duty of the prince to protect and intercede for his vassals."

Not only must the relations within the family be considered, but also the relations within the group of

¹"Kinship, in modern as in ancient times, finds the conditions of the city less congenial than those of the country. . . . Religion crystallizes into temple worship overshadowing the ancient rites of the household." So writes a modern sociologist showing a common cause of this situation (McIver, *The New State*, p. 55).

families which form the clan. When we use the word family in China we think, of course, of a group much larger than the average family in Western countries. Under the traditional Chinese system, when a son marries he brings his bride back to his father's home and it is there that his own children are born and reared. In one homestead there may be four generations and as many as a hundred persons, though this number would be exceptional. In a clan are included all the families of one name living in a certain area. Through the clan organization is maintained a little commonwealth which is a law unto itself. In the old feudal days the clans had immense power; their headmen were responsible to the government for keeping order, levying taxes, maintaining roads, taking the census, providing schools, markets, street lighting, and so forth. "The family was not only the real organ of government in the fullest sense, namely that it ordered the most important human relationships, but it was the heart of Chinese society."¹ In fact there was a semi-democratic form of government which ought to have prepared China to step out into her new political experiment with greater preparation than if she had lived under a complete autocracy.

(3) The family is the cohesive social force. Loyalty to the family may easily be carried too far; it has led to nepotism and to bitter family feuds handed down from one generation to another. Yet it is fair to say that what there is of cohesion in Chinese society

¹ Nathaniel Peffer, *China: the Collapse of a Civilization*, p. 33.

is due to this same loyalty. Within the clan social responsibility has been highly developed. Provision has been made for the old, the enfeebled, the defective. When one member fails, the rest stand by to help him. If clan life could be fully maintained and if famines and other disasters could be averted, there should be small need in China for social insurance. In any large group the art of social adaptability has to be learned early. Foreigners in China often cry out against what seems to them the failure of the Chinese to stick to a principle through thick and thin. They seem ready to accept what their foreign friends regard as unworthy compromise. Civil wars often end not with the issue finally decided but with some sort of adjustment whereby money, it may be, is passed into somebody's hands, and where the evil day is only postponed. It is well for us to remember the sort of training for meeting such situations which has been engendered in the Chinese by their experiences in the family group. The path of least resistance may, to persons so trained, become a second nature. Whether we judge this as good or bad, it would seem to be a factor making for social solidarity.

I well remember the perplexity of a fellow missionary faced with a situation of the kind. Called to a village where an old feud had been brought to light within the young church, he listened to a much respected pastor giving an account of it which had very slight relation to the facts. The others all knew that

it was a made-up tale and he knew that they knew. Yet by accepting it everyone's face could be saved and harmony restored. The alternative seemed to be to state all the facts and disclose publicly a state of things that would bring lasting disgrace and a desire for revenge. Should the missionary rush in with the truth and open old sores that might not heal for a generation, or by his silence seem, to himself at least, to accept a falsehood?

(4) The family has been the chief factor in securing national continuity. The great families of China have lived by agriculture and have maintained their existence for generation after generation on the same holdings of land. Of course there have been notable migrations, and there have been individuals who have ventured forth into business or official life. But the family centers, the ancestral halls and temples, have remained for century after century and have been a great power for preserving the continuity of the national life. The practices of ancestor worship, the maintenance of the graves of parents and grandparents, the handing down of traditions, the observance of family customs, the keeping up of the family tree—all these have served to maintain the roots in the past. It has been a tradition even among colonizing Chinese to go back to the old home before they die. "The young are made highly suggestible to values which inhere in the family complex, values which make for the prestige of elders, for obedience, con-

formity and social harmony.”¹ With China’s traditions challenged from so many angles today, need we wonder at the disintegration of the family, which has always personified unchanging values? Yet in China’s struggle not to be swept off her feet in a rapidly changing world, may it be that the family has a larger place than some realize?

(5) The family has been the unit of industrial life. Not only in agriculture but in manufacture the Chinese family has functioned as an economic group. In a subsequent chapter we shall see how this is beginning to change, but today in many thousands of homes the old village industries are still carried on. In some places it may be that all of the workers engaged in an industry—in cultivation of the silkworm, in spinning and weaving, in rug making, in furniture making, or in some other of the age-old occupations of the people—will be members of one family. In not a few cases apprentices are brought into the family, live within the same group of buildings, and share the economic life. Often the apprentices are themselves relatives. An art which contains special secrets and techniques is thus handed on from generation to generation within a closed circle which not infrequently is a family one. The extent to which family industries persist even with the competition of machine-made goods is a matter of surprise to many foreigners. In

¹ D. H. Kulp on “Chinese Continuity” in *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, vol. 152, p. 26.

the economic field, therefore, the Chinese family still holds an important if diminishing place.

REVOLT AGAINST THE FAMILY

Our study of the Chinese family has revealed many reasons for its persistence during the ages. Its religious sanctions, its ethical foundations and social values, its relation to the state and its place in the maintenance of law and in the public services, its provision for the weaker elements in the population, its training for social adjustment in a land too crowded to be tolerant of needless conflict, its contributions to the persistence of the race, its power to transmit the accumulated experience of generations, its economic functions—all these would seem to make the Chinese family sacrosanct. Nevertheless the prevailing attitude among young educated Chinese toward this most characteristic national institution is one of intense criticism and even open revolt. For what reasons has that state of conflict come about?

(1) To young China today the family system implies unjustifiable restraint on personal liberty. The basic idea is subordination of the one to the group, of the individual to the social end. This conception has been largely supplanted by Western individualism. Why should a man or woman be compelled to marry in accordance with family requirements? Why should a man submit himself body and soul to parent or grandparent until he reaches the age when he has almost ceased to care for his liberty? Why should a

bride enter her husband's family and become a virtual slave to a mother-in-law? Why should children be demanded from a young couple as their prime obligation to society? These are some of the questions insistently asked by youth. There is resentment against early marriage,¹ and a belief that men and women ought to get genuine companionship out of their married life in a way which seems far more likely if they choose their own partners according to love and common interests.

(2) The family system is further challenged because the obligations attendant upon it seem often in direct opposition to the public welfare. This is most noticeable when a government official appoints members of his own family to government posts. Nepotism has been a great cause of incompetence and waste in China, and many feel it cannot be overthrown save by a direct challenge to the family ethic which lays down such action as entirely laudable. Loyalty to the family too often spells disloyalty to the state.

(3) It is further urged that China is already greatly overpopulated, and that a family system which ranks the need for progeny so high is contrary to public interest. Not concubinage in order to insure children, but late marriages, birth control, and voluntary limitation of the family seem to persons holding this view the proper line for China to take

¹In a recent inquiry it was found that more than half of the students entering a large junior middle school were already married, and this is not an exceptional case. See *Chinese Recorder* for April 1931, p. 220.

if she is to raise her standard of living and improve her manhood and womanhood.

(4) Many hold that the family as China knew it in the past is inevitably doomed by changing economic conditions and the new approach to life of this generation. So ancient an institution may die slowly and show great resistance, and indeed it is doing so, but since it is doomed, the sooner it is utterly destroyed the better for all concerned. A determined reconsideration of the whole question of sex and family relationships would seem to be much better than a long drawn out struggle the end of which can already be foreseen.

(5) We have also to reckon with the prevailing psychology of young China. China's family system is seen by them as in sharp contrast to what they know of the family in such a country as the United States. Foreign movies are everywhere in China and are generally accepted as fairly representing our social life and institutions. Love at first sight, easy divorce, youth breaking away from age, the loosening of all restraints—these are taken for granted as typical of the modern world in which China wants to play her part. Many Chinese have studied in foreign lands and reflect a view of family life in the West which is probably truer than that which is gleaned by other Chinese from movies and sensational news stories, yet the sharp contrast between it and Chinese family life cannot be denied. Young China wants to be in the swing of this restless, free, forward-looking

existence. The home of old China seems to them relentlessly to block the way, therefore it must go.

Let us take the case of a young man who studied for seven years or more in England. Returning to the ancestral home, he found the same little room which he had occupied as a boy exactly as he had left it. His father told him that as a concession to his new ideas he would be allowed to choose his wife from among three girls he had selected, but marry one of them he must. Many parents would not have gone so far as to concede a choice. Not one of these girls could even read. The son's former teacher required an assistant in his school, and the father told him that he must at once accept the position, although the boy was by no means fitted for it. In a very short time he found that life in the old house was intolerable. A dutiful son, a quiet studious youth of high ideals, eager to serve his country, he was driven into open revolt because he had had to come back into a circle of ideas of living which he had utterly outgrown as a result of his study abroad. Neither physically nor spiritually could his little old dirty room contain the new man. His story, but in more aggravated form, is the story of many thousands of young Chinese, and to the older generation the most disquieting thing is that the girls have revolted as well as the boys. The old wineskins of China's majestic family system cannot contain the new wine of liberty and individualism. Will the skins burst and the wine be lost? Will utter license take the place of impossible restraints? Must China pass

through a period when all kinds of extremes are openly practised and advocated? If so, what will be the result for the next generation?

Now that we have considered something of China's problem, is it so very different from our own? In our country also old ideals and customs are being questioned or discarded. America in her way has built her civilization on the family, not indeed on the kind of family we have been considering and not with the same underlying philosophy; but the men and women who have been figures in our history have come out of homes where a certain characteristic stamp has been put upon them. For us too the home has been the connecting link between past and future. It has enshrined noble traditions and trained great citizens. While many homes still serve these functions, not a few are suffering today from causes not so different from those which have shaken the Chinese family to its foundations. It has been said that "probably the most far-reaching and lasting result of all that is happening in China today is the dissolution of the family."¹ Would it be impossible to make a similar assertion about America?

IS THERE A CHRISTIAN SOLUTION?

If we have rightly diagnosed one of China's major problems the question arises, Can the Christian religion offer any contribution towards its solution? The assumption of many who read this volume will prob-

¹ Nathaniel Peffer, *China: the Collapse of a Civilization*, p. 182.

ably be in the affirmative. Is it not just here that Jesus Christ has most to offer? Did Christ not raise womanhood to the highest ideal it has attained? Are not monogamous marriage and the family circle which is created when true love reigns, peculiarly Christian institutions? Must we not put in the very forefront of our message the Christian home as a gift to the new China? Yet these thoughts do more honor to our aspirations than to the facts as the Chinese see them. How can the church in the United States bring such a message when the divorce rate is continuously rising, when many homes are homes in name only, when the church itself speaks with so many divided voices on sex and kindred topics? We may as well admit that we have no ready-made answer to this question; that the example of so-called Christian countries cannot be quoted with any confidence as pointing the way to a solution. What, then, is the missionary to do about it?

THE BEST IN BOTH

It might be well at once to recognize that in this as in many another modern situation East and West need each other in the search for truth and right. We can no longer maintain, in the light of all the facts, the assumption that Western Christians have simply to give to China what we possess and she lacks. Missionary work is much more complex than that; it demands insight into actual conditions, the power to evaluate good in many places, a willingness to sit

down with others and think our way afresh into great human problems. With this attitude we may go far. In the old days it was assumed that the practice of ancestor worship was merely so much heathen superstition, to be attacked root and branch. We may still see the elements of superstition in it and yet see elements of permanent value which we wish to retain. To regard our dead as dependent upon us for sustenance in the next world, to expect their aid and intervention in our daily lives, to dread their power to injure us if they are neglected—such ideas may well be repudiated, at the same time that we may value and retain the idea of a continuous tradition in the family life, the idea that much of our power to meet the problems of life is drawn from those who have gone the way before us, the idea that the experience and wisdom of the past will help us as we press onward, the idea that there is power and comfort in the doctrine of the communion of saints. Is it not possible and indeed necessary to hold to these great constructive ideas in an age when everything new seems glamorous to youth in its reaction against the dead hand of the past? Cannot East and West work out together in China new techniques that will replace ancestor worship and still give to children, in a way consistent with our present knowledge of the world, the sense of loyalty to the past, to family tradition, to the experience of the race, which the discarded symbol gave to countless millions during centuries of

China's life? Here is a field for bold experiment, for united effort and thought.

Let us consider another of the Chinese family customs against which the Westerner reacts, the arranged marriage. That the heads of their respective families should undertake to force upon young people a marriage partner without their consent and against their very instincts seems to us repellent and outrageous, and Chinese youth today are revolting against the plan scarcely less violently than American youth would revolt under similar circumstances. Let us grant to the full the inadvisability and impossibility of maintaining such a custom, and still ask ourselves what are its values. At least it stands for the belief that many important considerations should be weighed when marriage is contemplated. Health, similar tastes, social position, economic status, all contribute to the success or failure of a Chinese marriage. Does the common assumption in so many Western homes that the grand passion alone matters always work out well? Might there not be greater chances of happiness sometimes if more weight were given generally to other factors than romantic attraction? The arranged marriage assumes certain parental rights. The temper of modern youth may be to ignore these. But should they be wholly ignored? Admit at once that the final decision must rest with the parties chiefly concerned, may it not still be true that it is socially desirable to give the parents and families some part in the decision? How may the wisdom of age combine with the

eagerness of youth in arriving at conclusions on this all-important question that will not be upset in a few years by incompatibility, nor prove tyrannous and irksome if loyally carried out?

Put aside as utopian if you will any likelihood that it will be the wisdom of the East that will temper our Western mores, yet it remains possible that China may evolve a plan which will give the West cause to think freshly on marriage laws and customs. Humanity has not yet become fully adjusted to the thought that the world cannot support an indefinitely increasing population. Limitation of families may be demanded by social or health considerations. Marriage and procreation by those who are subnormal mentally and morally may have to be prohibited. The whole subject of eugenics is raised as we consider the Chinese marriage custom. As worked out under primitive conditions without scientific health knowledge, the arranged marriage may have achieved comparatively little for the common good, and it has been grossly misused by ignorant cupidity and by prejudiced vanity. Yet as we look more deeply into the causes that have created and maintained it, we may find that here too must there be give and take between two conceptions which at first may appear diametrically opposed.

There is a third aspect of the Chinese family which is alien to Western sympathies, namely the large families and households in which the married sons and their children become part of the old homestead.

Criticism of this custom is scarcely less intense than criticism of ancestor worship and the arranged marriage. Why should not young people shape their own lives and bring up their children in their own way? The gulf now fixed between this generation and the previous one, owing to the exceptional rapidity of social and other changes, accentuates the revolt. Again we may grant the major premise yet seek for values which the custom preserves and because of which it has persisted. May we not find in this conception of family solidarity—responsibility of all for each and of each for all—an answer to the need for security which seemed to the ancients worth the price paid? We have seen how social insurance was provided in the family system, how old age was cared for, how social responsibility was shared in case of delinquency, how the success of one brought profit to all. We have also seen how the family became the training ground for social adaptability. These are not small gains. The tendency to think of the family only or mainly from the point of view of man and wife can easily go too far. Society has an interest in the family as an institution, not only because it is in and through the family that provision is made for continuing the race, but also because there is no substitute for a family group as the initial training ground for citizenship. Today in America children are too often sacrificed because parents no longer choose to live together, it being too little remembered that a wrong is done to them and irreparable loss incurred if they

are deprived of the help of both parents in an integrated family life. Has society nothing to do but to register and legalize the parents' whims when they desire to rearrange their marriage relationships? What of the children deprived of the happy association of the home and a normal relationship with their parents? Are we satisfied with this state of things, and satisfied that in China similar conditions should be arising, largely through the influence on her of outside contacts? Surely there is a better way, and again it is one which East and West have to work out together.

THE WAY FORWARD

Space forbids enlargement on other aspects of this large and tremendously important theme. It may be urged before passing on, however, that the supreme missionary contribution in this connection is the establishment of a Christian home of the finest type in China. When years ago a Chinese gentleman asked that his wife might call on mine to learn the secret of bringing up children, we were more deeply moved than I can tell. To be able to show how man and wife can share their smallest and their deepest interests, how children can be guided without being dominated, and encouraged to express themselves without becoming little tyrants, how they may grow up in the parents' faith without being indoctrinated, and how Christ can be made the center of the home without presence of cant or sense of unreality—in short, to have a home

that is centered around God as the Father and in which love is actually supreme—is not this to do more than any other single thing towards the solution of China's problem of the family? There are many questions to be discussed, many insights to be gained, many experiments to be made if the missionary is to be a factor of real significance in the creation of new family ideals and practices in China. It may be too much to expect that he can play any considerable part. The Roman Catholic church by sending out in the main celibate missionaries and by its theory of clerical celibacy frankly withdraws from this special field. The Protestant missionary is sometimes at his best in it. But the great question always is whether he can play his part in a spirit of understanding sympathy both with China's past and with her present, and as one who has found in his own faith a guiding light on the question of the family and its relation to individual development and to social welfare.

Recent years have shown how deep an interest Chinese Christians have in this problem. They believe that the church should make an effort to win entire families, since one single Christian in the non-Christian Chinese home can do so little. They see that Christian parenthood means training and thought, and in consequence parent associations are arising in many churches. They see in the Christian schools an opportunity for helping young people to a finer conception of marriage. The work of the National Christian Council in this field is of large significance and

is gathering strength from year to year. In the Five Year Movement one of the leading committees is working continuously at this problem. It is of course by Chinese and not by foreign missionaries that China will be chiefly helped to see the nature of the Christian answer, but here again cooperation between them is essential.

Thousands of Chinese Christian homes are eloquent testimony to the fact that Christianity has a constructive offering to make to China in the realm of family life. To have entered such homes, to see the place given to mother and to daughter, to witness the easy terms of friendship and respect on which parents and children live, to be present when the family gathers for a period of worship; to see the young people going out imbued with the spirit of service, progressive in thought yet with reverence for the past; to be present at intimate discussions among Chinese parents as to how they may best train and help their children—these are experiences which give one hope for the future, and lead one to see that it is not for nothing that missionaries have set up in China homes where Christ is in very truth the head of the house and regarded always as the invisible guest.

CHAPTER IV

CAN CHINA SUPPORT HER MILLIONS?

SOME phrases in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *The Three Principles of the People* give ground for using the word socialism as a translation of his third principle. Further study of his point of view leads us, however, to choose a phrase less ambiguous and nearer, it would seem, to his basic idea. "The people's livelihood" has been used, but even that scarcely carries with it all the implications of the original *min-sheng*. What Dr. Sun sought to impress upon China in this connection was that the community is responsible for the economic life of all its citizens. To leave to chance or to what we choose to call economic law the welfare of the masses was in his view a betrayal of the responsibility of government. He conceived it to be one of the fundamental principles of the new order that provision should be made for the elemental physical needs of every citizen, not by handing out freely to every man his daily ration, but by an ordering of the economic life so that all could have work and due return for their labor, and none should be left in want. This view called for a readjustment of the relations between capital and labor, a revised system of production, changes in land laws, introduction of modern machinery on a large scale, development of

transportation facilities, improvement in agriculture, securing of equality in relation to foreign competition. Dr. Sun speaks of four necessities for the people's livelihood—clothes, food, housing and locomotion. He says, "In order to secure these necessities for everyone without exception, the nation must shoulder the responsibility. If the nation does not make sufficient provision, anyone can demand it. The nation must bear the burden. But on the other hand, what ought to be the attitude of the people towards the nation? The people must offer definite service to the extent of their ability."¹

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM BASIC

In dealing with over four hundred million people it is no small thing to attempt to carry out such an ideal. In this chapter we are to look at some of the specific problems involved in a stupendous task, and the way in which they are being tackled today. Dr. Sun was essentially a man of the people. The economic problem is fundamentally a human problem. It was not to establish an economic theory or to work out an experiment for its own sake that he wrote and labored, but in order that ordinary men and women and children might have a better chance to live decently, that their intolerable burdens might be lifted, that joy might come to the joyless and hope to the hopeless. When therefore we come to consider China's economic problem let us begin by feeling if we can

¹ *The Three Principles of the People*, Part III.

something of the weight of poverty, insecurity, monotony, and fear that weighs upon so large a proportion of her people today.

Everyone who has studied Chinese conditions at all is familiar with the fact that China is mainly an agricultural nation. Though statistics are proverbially unreliable it may be safely assumed that not less than eighty per cent of the population is directly dependent for daily sustenance upon the cultivation of the soil. In many cases small industries are carried on subsidiary to that of agriculture, as where the women in the family spin and weave while the men plow and plant. Home industries and small-scale factories are to be found all over China and are indeed a large feature of her economic structure. No people in the world are more industrious and thrifty than the Chinese. They have few wants and are contented under circumstances that would drive most Westerners into despair or revolution. Nevertheless their immense fund of patience is being taxed to the very limit in these days. Not only has one famine after another swept across great areas of China, owing to drought and inundation, but banditry and civil war have broken out in every province, young and old have been kidnapped and held for ransom, taxes have been collected for many years in advance by unscrupulous militarists, soldiers have been let loose to collect their pay by unlawful exactions and pillage, communist agitators have held out high hopes which being unfulfilled or impossible have left multitudes in the

blackest despair. The economic system has probably seldom been more completely shattered for large sections of the population than it is today.

One of the outstanding marvels of China is that she can carry on as well as she does. The resilience of her people is a constant surprise. Give them half a chance and things pick up again; the man who has been crushed to the dust comes back with a smile. China seems to know better than other nations how to forget her troubles. It is not pity, then, that we need to feel as we approach this problem, so much as it is admiration for such pluck and cheerfulness, and the desire to see this people able to enter into their inheritance and to take their place in the onward march of mankind. The hope of this also depends upon the way in which the economic problem is handled. We may not believe in economic determinism, but we must admit that economic forces have again and again shaped human history and will continue to do so, and that by intelligent good-will we must learn to direct and bend them to fulfil the interests of man's higher nature.

Much has been written of the economic changes which are taking place in China. The battering ram of the machine age and of Western enterprise has been breaking down sections of her ancient wall for generations. In the great Chinese centers we see reproduced the evil conditions of the worst industrial cities of the West, we see family life disorganized as relatives are separated by the movement from country

to city, we see that some of the standards of business have changed, and we hear far less than formerly of Chinese integrity. These and other results of the introduction of foreign products, machines and business methods are to be seen and seen clearly in those parts of China to which the foreign visitor usually confines his visits. What we have to remember is that although foreign goods have found their way along every highway and byway in China, by far the larger part of her four hundred million people still live very much as their forefathers did, and to them all these staggering changes are as a tale that is told. What affects them more directly are civil war, banditry, famine, flood, depreciation in the value of money. We need to begin with the problems of the country and village life of China if we are to get a true perspective.

THE LIMITS OF CONTENTMENT

Looking behind external conditions we may say that a fundamental cause of China's poverty and distress is to be found in the very quality we have been extolling. The very power of her people to bear uncomplainingly their desperate lot is, when looked at from another angle, a cause of its continuance. I remember walking the streets of Ichang in 1920 after it had been systematically looted by Chinese regulars with the aid of their officers in order that back pay might be forced from the city, and observing the people amicably chatting with the soldiers. I remarked with approval to a missionary on the good

nature of people who had been so treated and yet made no resistance. "That," he said to me, "is exactly what I complain of. If only they wouldn't accept this lying down, there would be some chance for China." We must deprecate the spirit of revolution when it proceeds to violence and bloodshed, but often one would be glad indeed to see something of that spirit in place of the dull acceptance of evil conditions. How few of the masses of China have any standard of excellence towards which to work! How many have all their lives accepted the status quo with never a glimmer of aspiration towards the kind of life which they have it in them to enter into and enjoy!

Religion was called by Karl Marx the opiate of the people. What is needed in large parts of China is a religion that can turn the world upside down as early Christianity turned it. This at least communism has done for many: it has given them what may fairly be called a divine discontent. It has not led them into the promised land, but it has made them realize that they are in a house of bondage. Is not the rousing of men to a consciousness that life may become more abundant for them a fit function for messengers of the cross? If Jesus had acquiesced in the life he found men living and had let them remain content to live on in that way, the story of Calvary would never have been written. China's moral maxims have taught men sacred content. Christ calls men into continued effort towards nobler living.

CHRISTIAN ECONOMIC SERVICE

To stir new aspirations in men and yet to give them no guidance as to how these may be realized cannot be regarded as an unmitigated blessing. One of the most hopeful things in the development of Christianity in China is that Christian leaders are turning their eyes towards discovering their part in this program for the people's livelihood. Under the able leadership of two Christian institutions, Lingnan University at Canton and Nanking University, much new light has been thrown on the problems of silk and cotton production, on the insect enemies of agriculture, on the organization of rural life. A third university, Yenching, has developed a department in leather tanning which has furnished a number of experts to the industry. The research work of the laboratory has been carried into the villages with evangelistic zeal. New seeds have been tried out in small and then in larger areas. The eggs of uninfected moths have been sold widely to those engaged in the silk industry. A remarkable and fruitful piece of work has been done by Nanking University in equipping and sending out parties of Chinese young people into the villages to give practical instruction in sanitation, in eradication of pests, in improvement of crops. By staging a play—a method that can always be relied upon in China to attract popular attention—they show how scientific knowledge bears on these everyday matters, and how

it may be combined with the Christian spirit to work out to economic and social advantage.

Industrial centers, *kung ch'angs*, have been set up where home industries have been developed under satisfactory conditions. It was a delightful experience to visit in 1921 a center of this sort under the American Church Mission in Anking, where women and girls were working in clean and airy rooms provided out of the profits of their work under conditions in every way excellent, and where beautiful things were being made and steps being taken for workers' control of the industry, the contrast with Chinese home or factory conditions being unspeakable. Alas, the unsettlement and the anti-foreign wave of 1927 temporarily overwhelmed this splendid beginning.

These are but a few of the ways in which practical help has been given in the name of Christ to those who must reach a higher economic level if they are to have the margin of leisure, the education, and the physical stamina necessary for their full development as sons and daughters of God.

COMMUNITY BUILDING

Even more significant is the emphasis which is being laid upon community building. One of the characteristic features of ancient Chinese life was the multitude of organizations, guilds, clubs, and societies of one kind or another which existed for purposes of trade, insurance, social contact, recreation, and the

like. On the basis of this natural tendency among the people there have been developed in different sections of the country cooperative societies for extending credit on easy terms and for working out conditions of production and distribution. The government, the Famine Relief Commission, and other organizations have developed these societies, and already very great benefits have accrued.

The Christian church can be only one factor in economic readjustment, but perhaps its most characteristic service will lie in fostering character and the sense of mutual trust and interdependence out of which such cooperation can grow, and also in creating in small communities a standard of living which will demonstrate what can be done when "brethren dwell together in unity."

Weiting is a rural area near Soochow which comprises twenty-two small villages and a total population of twenty-five hundred. Since September 1928 the Y.M.C.A. has concentrated skilled and devoted effort in this district. Their workers at first met prejudice and opposition; then there was finally offered to them an old temple in the center of the village which they cleaned, repaired and opened as a community center. The keynote aims of the enterprise have been the development of good-will, self-help, and local leadership, the unification of basic interests, and the cooperation of effort. The lives of many individuals have been transformed; educational trips to Shanghai have been arranged (each participant paying his

own charges); health education and practical sanitary measures have been carried out; gambling, opium smoking and other social evils have been effectively fought; an old moribund industry, the making of cut-silk, has been revived with marked success. The work has proved fascinating and encouraging. Steps have been taken in even this short time towards creating a community where the Christian way of life is in some measure being demonstrated both by single lives and in the organized life of the community.

A recent article gives such a vivid picture of another village, led in this case by a Roman Catholic missionary, that it is worth quoting at some length. The author of the article, a Chinese, was sent by the Famine Relief Commission into a desperately needy area where want and ignorance were characteristic of most of the places he visited.

"Within the area of the irrigation system," he writes, "are located some Catholic villages. Hsiao Palakai is a typical one. It used to be what the name indicates, Little Palakai, but in twenty years it has outdistanced its neighbors in size and prosperity. Even in the famine year it maintained intact its own irrigation system, and the farms around it looked better than those around other villages. A mud wall surrounds it, with large supplies of pebbles stored on the top as ammunition against bandits. It has its own defense force or village militia. In the center of the village is the mission compound with its tall watch-tower. Within the compound are located the church,

boys' and girls' schools, hostel, brewery, granary, flour mill.

"Here for twenty years, uninterrupted by furlough, Father L. Morel has worked and lived among his people. A Belgian by nationality, of slender build with a scholar's head and hands, he speaks German, French, English and Chinese, dresses in Chinese clothes and smokes a long Chinese pipe. His hobby is astronomy, and when the C.I.F.R.C. [China International Famine Relief Commission] wanted to prognosticate about the future rainfall of the region, he alone could supply the data, for he had maintained a record of the annual rainfall in the last fifteen years. If bandits come to attack the village, he is on the top of the watch-tower directing the defense with his powerful telescope. The C.I.F.R.C. wanted a hundred mule carts to haul grain to the labor camps. In that whole territory, not even excepting the city magistrate, Father Morel was the only person who could muster such a number within twenty-four hours. His word is law among the villagers. He rules not by force but by reason of his self-giving. While the women of the region are noted for their small bound feet, the women of Palakai all have natural feet. The population is ninety-five per cent Catholic, the five per cent non-Catholic being new settlers, and the children of school age are one hundred per cent literate. The village is an oasis of prosperity in that semi-arid area and is church-centered. It is a convincing demonstra-

tion of what the church can do when it becomes community-conscious."¹

Not every feature in this picture may appeal to the reader, but does it not give us cause to think? If the Christian church can produce throughout China even a few hundred or a few thousand villages where the whole community is working together to translate the Christian ethic into terms of economic development and social well-being, will it not be touching at the most vital spot the rural problem of China and making, moreover, a significant witness to the vitality and practicability of the Christian gospel and the way of life into which Jesus leads men?

Reference has already been made to the work of James Yen and his associate in another rural area, and it would be easy to add other cases to show how rural economic problems are being freshly thought through and faced by Christians and others in China today.

MEETING NATURAL DISASTERS

There is another aspect of China's rural problem which may claim our attention for a moment. While the chief energies of the Christian church should be directed towards stirring up a new spirit among the people and helping them to a creative expression of it, the cry of those in desperate need cannot be neglected. As a chief cause of China's poverty we have mentioned natural disasters. Flood and famine have

¹ Y. Y. Tsu in *Chinese Recorder*, for May 1931, pp. 283-84.

brought millions to destitution, agony and death. At the time of this writing, the devastating results of a gigantic flood in the fertile Yangtze valley are awakening the sympathy and generosity of people in all parts of the world. The cry of this need has again and again been heard and heeded in America and the vast resources of this country have been drawn upon for relief. In this China has recognized the Christian spirit of tender-heartedness and sympathy. Foreigners in China have, however, not been content with emergency aid. The causes of famine have been investigated. Some are uncontrollable but some can be dealt with. Large-scale irrigation works have been planned, and these could easily be carried out in a settled country with government aid. Reforestation is one of the most urgent needs if the accelerated erosion of large areas is to be checked. This needs thorough scientific study if it is to be done effectively; simple tree planting may be of no avail in many sections where the erosion has already gone too far. Again, road and railway building is essential. It is well known that the practical elimination of famine in India today as contrasted with thirty years ago is the result of improved transportation even more than of the vast irrigation schemes carried out by the government. As soon as famine threatens from whatever cause, food can be rapidly brought into the needy area. Such large-scale means of dealing with this perennial problem lie far beyond the power and resources of the Christian church to carry through, but what the church

can do is to emphasize the need for them, and through education build up a public opinion which will demand them, and then see that such works are not allowed to fall into disrepair when once constructed.

The recent visit to China by Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, his investigations and suggestions and the eager way in which in certain quarters these are already being carried out, give evidence that a new era is opening in the Christian approach to China's rural problem. I believe we are on the verge of one of the most significant developments in the history of the Christian enterprise in China.

THE MACHINE COMES TO CHINA

Having given some thought to the economic need of the vast majority of Chinese, we may look now at the situation created by the growth of modern factories and the international trade of China. While the problems in this field are more spectacular, the changes more rapid, and the future possibilities more alarming, we must not forget that as yet only a relatively small section of the nation is affected to any considerable extent. Although China is sure to develop her mineral resources yet more largely, although many more machines will be used, although foreign trade will expand when once the country becomes more settled, it nevertheless remains true that the future of China must continue to be viewed as conditioned mainly by her abundant population. "Labor is China's great national resource and she must learn

how to use it.”¹ Bearing this fact in mind we shall look at some aspects of the new industrialism in China.

1. *Factory Labor*

In certain areas the modern factory has come in with a rush. In Europe and America the change from handwork to power-driven machinery, from the small self-contained industry where every worker knew every other worker to the huge impersonal manufacturing organization, from private firm to public company, from skilled handwork to standardization, has been a gradual process. It has been quick enough to produce many growing pains, but it did not come catastrophically. China after a long period of isolation gradually opened her doors to machine-made goods, but only very recently embarked in earnest upon the task of making them herself. In 1895 the Treaty of Shimonoseki opened the door to the establishment of factories by foreigners in treaty ports. It is only since that date that China has moved towards industrialization in the modern sense of the term. It was not, however, until the late World War gave a new opportunity to capitalists in China that any startling development took place. In the twenty years prior to 1915 the number of looms and spindles more than doubled. In the following twelve years the former were multiplied by five and the latter by three

¹J. L. Buck on “Agriculture and the Future of China” in *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, vol. 152, p. 114.

and a half.¹ This will give some idea of what has happened in other fields of industry. Since China is the third largest cotton-producing country in the world, it is evident that the field for advance in this industry is still immense.

However, the fact that China produces cotton and coal in ample quantities does not account entirely for this development; undoubtedly a determining factor is the cheapness of labor. As a matter of fact, Chinese factories require in addition to Chinese cotton, most of which has a very short staple, immense quantities of foreign raw cotton, the annual import being about three hundred million pounds. The profits—and huge profits they were during the boom years—are due to the absurdly low wage scale. In Shanghai, for example, the average wage is the equivalent of twenty-six to twenty-eight American cents a day, and in the interior it is much less. The long working hours, a twelve-hour day being common, and the prevalence of child labor are contributing factors.

It must not be supposed that low standards of living, prodigiously long hours of labor, and the employment of children of five or six years of age are new conditions in China; they were known there, not less than in other countries, before the coming of the steam engine. It is the machine factor, however, that has accentuated the evil in many ways. Labor that can be done with no sense of strain and with compara-

¹ E. B. Alderfer on "The Textile Industry of China," in *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, vol. 152, p. 184.

tively little harm to body or mind under conditions of a free, open-air life, is often deadly in the close atmosphere of the factory, with the demand of mass production forcing one to be always at it. Wages adequate in the country are starvation wages in the town; often the apparent increase when the worker comes to the city is a reduction in comparison with the cost of living. The fact is that the suddenness with which this change has taken place has dislocated the social life of China and she is just beginning to seek the needed readjustment. On one phase of this human problem we quote a Chinese poet in "The Song of the Cloth-Seller":

Big Sister weaves cloth,
Big Brother sells cloth,
Sells cloth and buys rice
To fill their stomachs.

Big Sister weaves cloth,
Big Brother sells cloth.
Baby wears torn trousers,
No cloth to patch them.

Big Sister weaves cloth,
Big Brother sells cloth.
Who wants to buy cloth?
Yon village rich man.

Home-made cloth coarse;
Foreign cloth fine.
Foreign cloth cheap,
The rich man likes it.

Home-made cloth nobody wants.
Starving! Brother and Sister!¹

2. *The Child Worker*

Special reference should be made to the effect of the machine upon the future of China as seen in the multitudes of child victims. We quote the words of a British factory inspector, Dame Adelaide M. Anderson, written of her visit to China in 1923-24.

“A drooping little girl of seven or eight years of age in the steaming atmosphere of a semi-industrial silk filature, with swollen body and mask-like face of helpless suffering, whom I found standing during a long day, making the monotonous movements needed for stirring cocoons in nearly boiling water to moisten them for the reelers; a small boy of not more than eleven years discovered in a rambling old match factory boxing white phosphorus-tipped matches, face swollen with suppurating wounds at the cheek-bone under the left eye and the expression of one who endures great suffering; a large ill-lighted cotton-spinning room, dusty and extremely hot, where numerous children, streaming with perspiration, work strenuously (on the night and day shift system) under Chinese foremen amid inadequately guarded machinery; ill-lit, stuffy, dark rug-making workshops (that are also sleeping and messrooms) where rows of closely perched boys, who work together seated on narrow planks slung up to the rising level of the hand-made

¹ *Chinese Recorder* for January 1926, p. 37.

rugs, with bowed shoulders and inflamed eyes, infect each other with the trachoma that is so common in China. . . ."¹

The Christian forces in China, working through the National Christian Council, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., brought to China the author of these pen pictures. She worked with a special commission of the Shanghai Municipal Council to study the facts and to prepare a suggested measure for regulation of factory conditions. The effort, though failing for political reasons at the time, is an illustration of one way in which the Christian conscience can function in respect to a social problem. Eyes that have been opened by Christ to the need of human beings and to pity for the little ones cannot look unmoved on scenes such as those described. What is the Christian church for if not to hold out a hand to such, whether they be in America or in China? They are helpless victims, we say, of mighty economic forces. Let us rather say they are our brothers and sisters, crushed by the greed and indifference of older brothers and sisters who should know better and whose conscience we seek to make aware.

3. *The Challenge of Communism*

Into a situation which has developed not because of deliberate ill-will but because of inadequate forethought and social vision, there has come the passionate challenge of the extremist. We may look almost

¹ *Humanity and Labor in China*, pp. 164-65.

with horror on what the press calls the red terror, but can we fail to see that its wild excesses are the almost inevitable result of conditions made and acquiesced in by millions of average people? Communism in China is due to the fact that a small group of enthusiasts have expressed the bitterness and long sorrow of many in a way that Confucianist, Christian and Buddhist have alike failed to do. I do not say that any of these three have been wholly indifferent, but it is a plain fact that the awakening of the Chinese people to the social injustice they have suffered has been due to the dreaded communist far more than to the tolerated religionist.

A friend of mine, son of a Chinese pastor, graduate of two Christian universities and social worker in a Christian organization, went for a few weeks into a center of communism and came back with a passion and a devotion to the cause of the downtrodden which all the Christian associations had never given him. Giving up a comfortable position he took a terribly difficult and risky one at one-fourth the salary because he had seen the vision of suffering humanity as never before. Why was it that these fanatics could awaken a moral enthusiasm which the church had never discovered and called out? His is no isolated case.

Labor unions were organized all through south China during the period of communist influence, even the peasants being enlisted in the cause. Strike followed strike. "Between 1918 and 1926 there were

1232 important strikes in all parts of China, and about 47 per cent of these were due to economic pressure."¹ The mainstay of the revolutionary movement which swept north from Canton in 1926 was to be found in these labor organizations and sympathizers. There was much preaching of class war and of the need for recovering the land. In China there are indeed many farmers who own their own land (perhaps on the whole more than one-half, there being a larger proportion in the north than in the south), but in the provinces of Kwangtung and Hunan, where the movement spread, there are many tenant farmers, and they in a number of cases seized the land with subsequent disastrous results. Excesses were the order of the day, and these led in turn to excesses in repression.

What is it in communism, we may well ask, that has made so strong an appeal in some parts of China? It is in part no doubt the appeal to self-interest made by suggestions for remission of taxes, equalization of opportunity, the chance to get one's own—and something more—from oppressive landlord or money lender. But there is an appeal beyond this. Many students and young people have been reached on the basis of their own highest ideals. They see injustices which they hope to remedy and oppression which they believe will be ended in a communist régime. To the Christian this state of mind presents a terrific challenge to care more passionately for social well-being,

¹ Dr. Ta Chen on "Fundamentals of the Chinese Labor Movement" in *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, vol. 152, p. 199.

to plan more courageously, to think more honestly, to dedicate himself more completely to the remedy of great evils and to the building of a juster social order.

What this may mean to an individual can be seen in a recent report. "I listened," says O. R. Magill on returning from a trip into north China, "to a tragic but inspiring story from the lips of a young university graduate, a Christian Chinese, who is giving himself at great sacrifice to the task of reconstruction in a group of country villages in north China. He spoke of five classmates who had graduated three years before. They were swept into the nationalist revolution, and had given themselves with complete abandon to the communist ideal as the way out for their country. One after the other, in quick succession, messages had come of the execution of the three—lives sacrificed to the cause in which they had placed implicit faith. The remaining two he had met secretly in Shanghai, and he had listened to the story they poured out of hardships and the constant danger of discovery and death. His voice thrilled as he spoke of the spirit of these idealistic young men who had been so dear to him in his student days. A far-away, determined look in his eyes expressed the yearning of his own heart for such an opportunity to spend and be spent for his people. Does one wonder at the intense search for the adventurous challenge in Christianity on the part of Christian students when their comrades are giving themselves so completely and

splendidly to their chosen cause without regard to the cost to self?"

The Christian is of course challenged to discriminate between the ideals and the methods of communism. With the ideals he may find many points of agreement while refusing to sanction or employ the methods. Has the follower of Christ not a method more effective than violent revolution? The Chinese Christian church is beginning to see the challenge, but it is too early as yet to say whether they will take it up soon enough and thoroughly enough to win the enthusiasm of youth and the backing of the masses who are beginning, under communist teaching, to realize as never before their desperate plight.

4. *Business Ethics*

Another aspect of the change should be mentioned, though it has already had a passing reference. The coming of modern industry has shattered much of China's old economic organization, and in the process have been destroyed or jeopardized some of the spiritual foundations of the old China. This fact may be illustrated in the story of the guilds. Almost every trade and profession in China had its own guild in ancient times and indeed until quite recently. By means of these guilds, which included employed and employer alike, the interests of the group were furthered, regulations laid down, differences adjusted, and religious practices observed. Doubtless the motivation for each group was self-interest, which often

sought to establish a monopoly, to fix wages and prices and eliminate competition; nevertheless social ends of a larger kind were attained. A certain fellowship of all engaged in a trade was developed and something was done toward maintaining a standard of excellence in the product. When oppressive legislation or official action threatened, members of a guild and sometimes several guilds stood together to resist it. The organization functioning as an instrument of trade was one means whereby democracy was expressed.

It has been frequently remarked that the fine traditions of honesty for which Chinese merchants have had an enviable reputation the world over is tending to disintegrate under the modern credit system, rapid variations in rate of exchange, and so forth. No one could fail to regard such a change as a calamity. The religious practices of the guilds, though largely dictated, no doubt, by self-interest, have been in many cases abandoned and nothing has been put in their place. Modern industry makes the close association of man with man increasingly difficult. Labor unions often unite employees in opposition to employer, this class division being emphasized, as it is in the West, rather than the unity of the producing group under the guild system. It is a significant thing that the labor legislation of the Nanking government which adopted many of the standards worked out in the West had an important provision for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. This has been altered now in favor of

voluntary arbitration, but the original form may be said to reflect something of the old guild psychology, and China may yet move again in that direction.

IS THE MISSIONARY POWERLESS?

Enough has perhaps been said to bring this immensely complex situation into focus. Let us briefly note some of the questions which are inherent in it: How may the standard of living be raised for the masses? How may foreign capital be introduced without China's economic freedom being infringed? Can the ancient values be saved in the new development? Can China avoid intense class war? Need she adopt the Western way of looking at the division between employer and employed?

In relation to such problems as these, has the Christian church anything to say? Chinese business in the past recognized the place of worship in guild life, even though it was a crude and self-interested type of worship, and in its own way medieval Europe did the same. May it be that we are moving toward chaos and need to be reminded that in this field, whether in China or in America, to leave out God is to leave out the most important factor, and that there are moral laws which can never be repealed. The missionary may well feel paralyzed before a problem so utterly beyond his power to solve. A fundamental approach to this complex of ideas and forces is suggested by these pregnant words of Mr. R. H. Tawney in his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*:

"Few who consider dispassionately the facts of social history will be disposed to deny that the exploitation of the weak by the powerful, organized for purposes of economic gain, buttressed by imposing systems of law and screened by decorous draperies of virtuous sentiment and resounding rhetoric, has been a permanent feature in the life of most communities that the world has yet seen. But the quality in modern societies which is most sharply opposed to the teaching ascribed to the Founder of the Christian faith, lies deeper than the exceptional failures and abnormal follies against which criticism is most commonly directed. It consists in the assumption, accepted by most reformers with hardly less naïveté than by the defenders of the established order, that the attainment of material riches is the supreme object of human endeavor and the final criterion of human success. Such a philosophy, plausible, militant, and not indisposed, when hard pressed, to silence criticism by persecution, may triumph or may decline. What is certain is that it is the negation of any system of thought or morals which can, except by a metaphor, be called Christian. Compromise is as impossible between the church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth, which is the practical religion of capitalistic societies, as it was between the church and the state idolatry of the Roman Empire."

If the West is pushing China down a steep place into this denial not of Christian ethics alone but of her own great ethical systems, it is incumbent upon

those who go out from the West for the purpose not of making profits but of giving a spiritual message, to make utterly clear where they stand on this issue "between the church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth." There is no issue more fateful for China or for America today. Bound up as the church and her missionary crusade are with an acquisitive society, can we, dare we, take the stand which is needed in China to save her from that gravest economic peril, the submergence of the very end and object of life in the struggle to obtain the physical means for sustaining it?

CHAPTER V

RAISING THE PHYSICAL STANDARD

WE HAVE already given some attention to the economic conditions necessary to a healthy and vigorous life. It would still be true, however, that even if these conditions could be provided, China's vast population would lack those physical qualities which are the basis for moral and spiritual health. Because a man has an ample income he is not therefore healthy. In a country like America, income is perhaps more of a factor to this end than in China. The well-to-do in America can at least live in healthy surroundings; they can take adequate holidays; they can, if they will, avoid much of the overwork and worry that are such potent causes of disease. Yet even so there are in America among the wealthy, drug addiction, nervous breakdowns, languid and enfeebled bodies and defective minds. To provide the means for overcoming germs and temptations will not in itself save society from physical degeneration.

THE NATURE OF THE TASK

In China the problem is a much more complex one. The first obstacle that meets the eugenicist is the deep prejudice and superstition holding vast masses of the people. It is sometimes difficult for an American to

realize how far removed he is, with his scientific knowledge and practical common sense, from people who implicitly believe in evil spirits, witchcraft and geomancy, devil possession and the evil eye. Of course we may find in sections of any country old superstitions which proverbially die hard, but that is a very different thing from a life which is dominated by them. Such a life many people in China still live. To bring to them medical aid is not infrequently to arouse fear rather than gratitude. It is but a little while since stories of babies' eyes having been removed by the missionary doctor to make charms and medicines were widely believed and led even to riots. The suspicion of anything new, the anti-foreign feeling, and the hold of old superstition combine to make work for the physical needs of Chinese an uphill job in many places.

Even where this is no longer true there is a vast deal of sheer ignorance. The germ theory of disease is so axiomatic with us that we can scarcely credit the complete ignorance of the Chinese of the idea which makes the fight for pure water and milk, for sanitary methods of land cultivation, for isolation of infectious disease, so obviously necessary. In Peking only a few years ago and probably in other cities the order to protect fresh food with gauze covers against flies was observed by putting a covering over the top and front for "look-see" and leaving the back exposed; and the police, appointed to see that the order was obeyed, seemed quite oblivious to the fact that the food might

just as well have no covering at all so far as the object of the ordinance was concerned. The public schools, the Council on Health Education, the local administration, the public press, are all at work trying to dispel this ignorance, but there remains a tremendous task before those engaged in the campaign. Such matters of personal and community health as the proper care of women when pregnant or in the first weeks after childbirth, the feeding of children and attention to their other needs, first-aid for the wounded, precautions to be used in preparing food, care of the insane and mentally defective—all these and many other factors of constructive social effort are scarcely more than envisaged in most of China today, where they await an educated and awakened public spirit.

Until the coming of the medical missionary the treatment of disease rested entirely with the old-time practitioner. He knew a few good remedies, mainly herbal. Mixed with his knowledge was a mass of strange lore. The use of the queerest kinds of concoctions was almost universal. There was not the smallest idea of antiseptics. A needle, of course unsterilized, would be driven through the body, and other hideous measures used which cause one to shudder as one thinks of them. Midwives whose dirt was only matched by their ignorance practised and still practise. Many medicine men are still to be found, and for some cases their attentions may be better than nothing. The problem which China has to face is not simply to get rid of those whose presence is a menace to her physical

well-being. It is to provide a personnel of at least partially trained men and women who can be within call for any of China's four hundred million people scattered over vast and in many cases almost inaccessible areas. Train your doctors and even then it will be hard to persuade them to undertake work in out-of-the-way places where there is opposition to overcome, at the very best only a pittance to live on, danger and discomfort to encounter, and isolation to endure. A pretty big dose of enthusiasm for humanity is needed if a competent young doctor is to face this kind of task. Through the government and missionary schools and in the Peking Union Medical School set up by the Rockefeller Foundation much excellent training is being given. But when it is all added together it is absurdly inadequate to China's total need. The latest statistics give a total of sixty-five hundred Western-trained doctors in China, say one to every sixty thousand of the population. Nurses are needed as much as doctors and far too little provision is made for training them. It is splendid to find, as I have done, devoted young Chinese in distant places giving themselves with no thought of reward to the breaking down of prejudice and the healing of disease. But only a beginning has as yet been made. Is it not in just such a field as this that the missionary and the Christian church should be able to inspire to Christ-like service and prepare individuals to be able to render it?

To other difficulties may be added the lack of plant.

Hospitals and modern equipment are tremendously costly, and China is desperately poor and is using her meager resources largely to maintain the government in power or to change it by force. Without adequate equipment many cases cannot be dealt with at all, and many doctors feel it to be hopeless to carry on. Nevertheless when statistics are examined we are likely to be amazed at the rate of advance in this field, and certainly the many hospitals and dispensaries erected by missions as well as those put up out of public funds witness to a determined effort to meet the need. We must not be deluded into thinking that we are anywhere near the solution of the problem for all China.

When we consider the history of China in relation to plague and other epidemics we realize another very urgent need, namely a system of prevention and isolation, especially in areas which have proved to be the avenues of approach of these deadly enemies. The work done in stopping the plague in Manchuria in 1910-11 and in Shansi in 1931 shows what may be accomplished in face of an appalling catastrophe. Of forty-four thousand persons attacked in Manchuria not one recovered, and only by the mobilization of missionary and government doctors and by heroic effort was the evil finally stemmed. Provision for dealing with similar if smaller emergencies in different parts of China is still far from adequate.

A beginning has been made in the scientific study of diseases peculiar to China and of the distribution

of diseases such as leprosy, but here again, as compared with such a country as America, there is a vast field for further effort and for the coordination of observation and research.

THE MISSIONARY DOCTOR

These are a few of the outstanding facts in the field of physical need in China which must be borne in mind when we look into the question of the church's duty. It is noteworthy that in no other field of China's total need have the missionaries been so clearly pioneers. The spirit of a Master who has been called the Good Physician and who gave so much of his own effort to treating disease, has entered into his representatives in China. From the beginning their work has been acknowledged, and in many places it was the doctor who began the task of overcoming prejudice and winning confidence. It has been suggested that this indeed is his main task, and that, once the object has been attained, he should remove his hospital and himself to some new area where the doors have not yet opened or where there are prejudices to be overcome by kindness and the healing touch. To look at it in that light would not correspond to the conviction of the men and women who have given their lives to this medical work. For them it is an essential part of the whole approach in the name of Christ, just as much a part as education or preaching. They have no idea of being an instrument for an end such as opening new territory or even for merely commending the

gospel. They are doing in every act of kindness something to which their spirit impels them, seeking to heal men because they believe health to be God's gift to man, and themselves the instruments through which it may be restored.

It would be a great experience if every reader of this chapter could spend one day in company with a medical missionary in China. He might start the day at some hour when most people are in bed with a hurry call to a home where a poverty-stricken and distracted mother has made an effort to end her life by an overdose of opium or by breaking off hundreds of match-heads and swallowing them. An hour or two spent in a struggle with death burns in upon his conscience the heartbreaking conditions in many Chinese homes. Hurrying back for a speedy breakfast, he finds himself immediately afterward in a crowded dispensary where scores of men, women and children have gathered from a radius it may be of a hundred miles. Some have huge tumors such as one never sees in this country, for they would have been removed at a far earlier stage; many are afflicted with eye diseases which have already, through neglect, led to total or partial blindness; little children reveal wasting diseases due to malnutrition which would never have seized them had they not lived on the verge of starvation; emaciated opium addicts are present, and women whose health has been permanently lost because no skilled assistance was available at the time of childbirth. Probably not a person in the crowd would have

had a chance at any relief had Christian missions not established that hospital. In the afternoon the doctor will have a list of cases for operation that would be the wonder of a surgeon in America. Not a few have reached the stage which would have been called inoperable a little while ago, but they are dealt with skillfully and boldly and a surprising number of them will recover. Chinese nurses and anaesthetists, all trained in the hospital, render efficient and quiet service. You see religion in action. You catch the spirit of service which animates all. Stepping into the wards you find the same spirit expressed in cleanliness, so new a virtue to many, order and peace maintained even when the patients' friends crowd in, a disorderly and motley throng. Here is a place where many a convalescent has found through the touch and the voice of doctor and nurse new qualities in life which he never sensed before, and further found the very source of all this love in the One who has inspired it.

THE OPIUM CURSE

Unfortunately the tale of China's physical disabilities is scarcely half told even when we have been reminded of her unrelieved and yet relievable suffering from disease. If China as a nation is to stand up before the world with vigorous and high-minded sons and daughters, she must do more than combat on a grand scale the ravages of germs, insanitary conditions, and ignorance. There is an evil undermining

her vitality which is dependent on none of these things. I refer to opium and its derivatives. In some quarters there is a disposition to speak lightly of the opium habit as being less serious than alcoholism and on the whole a rather minor vice. Those who speak thus cannot have seen very much of its ravages. "There is too much tendency to study the effects of a drug on the addicts alone, without regard to the major consequences. The millions of women and children who have paid lifelong penalties of want and suffering through forced dependence upon opium slaves, would, if they could make their sorrows known, make it impossible for the world to rest in peace. To indicate the economic effects alone upon men who smoke opium one might mention the fact that when Soochow first organized its police force on a basis of modern discipline and equipment, eighty-five per cent of the newly enlisted men had to resign their positions within forty-eight hours, because physically they were unequal to the daily requirements of the ordinary policemen on their beat. These men were all opium smokers."¹

The story of the opium traffic with China need not be retold. To any Englishman it brings the sense of a grave responsibility to do what he can to help China overcome the evil. It is generally known that when England agreed in 1908 to bring the traffic to an end within ten years if China could suppress the cultivation of poppy in her own country, so well did the

¹ Robert F. Fitch in *Chinese Recorder* for July 1930, p. 416.

Chinese play their part that in seven years the condition was regarded as fulfilled and the traffic with England brought to an end. Lovers of China were thankful and proud at this result, but alas, the unsettled condition of the country since that time, the urgent need of funds, and the venality of officials charged with the duty of suppression, have opened the door so wide that once again the opium evil is one of the greatest perils faced by China. While the legalized trade with foreign countries has not been resumed, smuggling is prevalent. The situation is even worse than before because the introduction of morphine, heroin and other preparations, often under the name of cures for opium addiction, has added a new horror scarcely if any less than the old and much more difficult to deal with. One of China's chief counts against Japan and against extraterritoriality is that under this system the nationals of this country have carried on with immunity an immense trade in these illicit drugs.

There are two opposite views held by those who oppose the opium traffic. According to one view, the establishment of an opium monopoly by the government, the licensing of all addicts, and a policy of gradual suppression is the one hope of coping with it. The ease with which smuggling can be carried on, the huge profits attainable, and the lure of a dangerous trade are given as reasons for assuming that sheer prohibition can but fail. The experiment of America with alcohol is closely watched and all that can be

said as to its supposed or relative failure is eagerly taken up by the advocates of monopoly, an excellent instance of the way in which the nations are bound together by ties which are frequently unrecognized. According to the other view, nothing short of complete suppression is likely to have any considerable effect. Admitting the impossibility of making such a policy absolute, it is nevertheless to be pointed out that there is no indication whatever that a government drawing large revenues from opium would be in a position or would even be inclined to reduce and finally eliminate them. It is an unfortunate fact that even now, when all sale and use of opium are supposed to be illegal, local and national governments alike are believed to be drawing immense sums from opium merchants and users. In fact the Nanking government has for years been moving towards the monopoly plan and would probably have carried it out before this were it not for a very vigorous campaign conducted by the National Anti-Opium Society.

This organization grew directly out of the Christian movement. Almost immediately after the inauguration of the National Christian Council in 1922 at which the Chinese Protestant Christians had for the first time the chance of expressing themselves unitedly, a strong anti-opium committee was appointed. Missionary and Chinese Christian alike had been for years warriors in the cause. When once national action was possible, the Christian leaders realized the immense advantage of linking up with all kinds of other groups,

and moved to form this society. Educational associations, chambers of commerce, guilds, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations and various other bodies threw in their lot, but it can safely be said that but for the determined leadership of a few Christian men and women, little would have been done. The membership is now nation-wide, with about six hundred local organizations. The policy includes remedial, legislative, educative, and research work, and the stern fight is to prevent the government, under the guise of a monopoly and a repression policy, from fastening the opium evil more securely than ever upon the nation as a whole.

Here, however, lies the tragedy of the situation: The country aches for peace. The government in Nanking, driven from one expedient to another, is meeting enemies on every hand. To raise money for suppressing insurrection and banditry seems to them absolutely essential. Foreign loans are increasingly difficult to raise and prove intensely burdensome. Internal capital resources are already taxed to the limit. There is one source of funds ever available, for millions of Chinese desire to smoke opium. Huge profits are being made. Why should not some of this money accrue, let us say as a luxury tax, to the government and so enable it to serve the people as a whole at the expense, if you will, of those who are foolish enough to contract an evil habit? "The alternatives are terribly balanced. The situation is so desperate that those who observe and regard the facts should be thankful

that they are not in positions of responsibility.”¹ The plain and terrible fact is that this appalling evil is sapping the manhood of the nation on a scale probably greater than ever before. Says a recent observer:²

“What has hitherto been known as the Bureau of Military Supplies (or funds) is now called the Bureau of Opium Prohibition. It sounds good, but I am afraid that is all that is good about it, for it is the center to which all opium ‘fines’ are taken and these ‘fines’ are really a kind of land tax which has to be paid by all farmers quite irrespective of their cultivating opium or not (the farmers in most cases being quite unable to pay the ‘fine’ unless they cultivate this profitable crop). Opium is now being gathered here, and there are no indications yet of any determination to suppress the habit. When it is seriously taken in hand the task is likely to be far greater than when the Manchu government tackled the matter.”

What is the missionary’s contribution to the solution of this overwhelming problem?

THE FUTURE OF MEDICAL MISSIONS

We have looked in a somewhat cursory way at some of the problems connected with China’s physical needs. There are many others which cannot be set forth here. The major question to which we may now return is whether and to what extent this great field can be entered by the Christian forces. In the early

¹ Robert F. Fitch in *Chinese Recorder* for July 1930, p. 425.

² *North China Daily News*, May 6, 1930.

days of missions when no other agencies were at work in it there was an irresistible call. Doctors and nurses and even untrained foreigners stepped in to meet situations which but for their activity would have been irremediable. Orphanages for abandoned infants, leper asylums, enterprises for the blind, and other institutions were set up. Games were organized in schools among children whose ideas of study made it quite incompatible with such activities. Gymnasiums were built and playgrounds opened. The anti-foot-binding crusade was carried on, in those days a desperately uphill task against unbelievable prejudice. Famine relief on a large scale has been often undertaken, and even when this has been under Red Cross or official control, a large proportion of the workers at it have been missionaries. All these activities rank among the finest expressions of Christian altruism. The missionary has believed in wholeness of body as well as in spiritual regeneration, and that belief expresses itself in preventive and remedial health work which may include types as different as the Far Eastern athletic meets initiated by the Y.M.C.A., and the instruction in the care of children given in Chinese homes in the far interior by many a woman missionary.

The question we may fairly consider today is whether the time has come, now that many other agencies are in the medical field, to withdraw from this aspect of missionary work. The task is vast beyond measurement. China's leaders are aware of it,

and aware that the country has resources which could be turned to it on a scale far beyond anything missions can do. Is not the proper course rather to bend all energies to the spiritual side of the work? Let us take two special factors into account in our reply.

In the first place such a limitation is impossible, for the reason that men and women will continue to be moved with compassion for bitter need as long as the spirit of Christ operates in the world. There are tides in this desire to serve and sacrifice for others, but even when they recede, the urge is still there. To hear of or to glimpse the immense physical need of China or merely even to read of it is to be moved to hope and strive that someone will be constrained to meet it.

Again, we are coming to see more clearly through modern psychology the intimate relation of body and soul. It is not necessary to go as far as the behaviorists, whose major premise probably few readers of this volume would accept, to be able to admit that to work for regenerated personalities and to neglect the physical side, to leave unaltered the conditions of heredity and environment that affect human life, is in many cases to court disaster and futility. The physical foundation of life is a matter of vital concern to the missionary whose aim for men is personal salvation. We may think of the case of a young man or woman into whose life much money, much labor, much patient love has been poured by parents, teachers and friends, and who on the threshold of what

seems to be a career of exceptional fruitfulness is struck down by tuberculosis and proves to have no stamina to resist. We think also of the person whose physical handicaps have left him scarred in spirit, of the mind that became twisted in early youth. Every missionary knows such cases, and simple economy, let alone all the higher motives, leads him to a new interest in the physical side of man's nature in the light of their tragedy. Apart from the significance of malnutrition and bad sanitation to the nation as a whole, here are personal problems enough to call out the patient work and care of the Christian doctor.

THE NEW APPROACH

If, then, we may fairly assume that the problem of dealing with China's physical need cannot be set aside by the modern missionary as irrelevant to his main purpose, are there new emphases, changes of method which might be suggested? Without assuming that the following points are new—for experiments have been made already in all those directions—we may draw attention to aspects of the health problem which seem particularly to call for missionary thought today.

(1) The hospital and dispensary work done by missions has been their outstanding response to China's physical need. It may be suggested that present conditions demand a restudy of the hospital situation with a view (a) to see how far this work can be directly related to the Chinese church and brought under Chinese control, and (b) to ensure, even if it

were to mean some contraction of the total work done, that each hospital shall be a model in itself. We cannot expect missions to meet China's needs for health and healing. We can expect that each piece of work they undertake shall be in itself a type from which others may learn.

(2) The recent emphasis on medical education is wholly sound. To train and equip many Chinese doctors carries us much farther than to concentrate the medical staff available on first-hand work in the field. Here it may also be urged that every medical and nursing school should be of first-rate quality, but it would not seem well to train students in such a way that they are unfitted to work under more primitive conditions. The Peking Union Medical School was reconstructed some years ago, having been previously a purely missionary institution, by the Rockefeller Foundation as an absolutely modern school for research and post-graduate work. Its standards are far beyond those that a mission institution can hope, unaided, to reach. The mission medical schools, at the same time that they are thorough and up-to-date, should care above all to give to their graduates the spirit of high devotion, so that they will be willing to accept such limitations as have been indicated in the earlier part of this chapter.

(3) The use of literature and other means for creating an understanding of simple laws of health is an avenue peculiarly open to the church. It has already been entered in China in many cases. The Council

on Health Education under Dr. W. W. Peter and his colleagues gave a magnificent lead. In Ginling College the course of training for physical directors has been most useful. Through the thousand-character movement and in rural education generally a beginning has been made. To make every church center a radiating point for spreading this light is an ideal not by any means hopeless of attainment.

(4) Continued work in fields where few if any others are sharing the responsibility would also seem to be specially indicated. Were it not for Christian effort, practically nothing would have been done for lepers, for the blind, for the mentally deranged. Little enough has been done now, but at least until far more public attention has been directed towards helping these unfortunates, Christian missions have here a large field for service. Some persons feel that mission strength should rather go into great constructive tasks; let such persons concentrate on them. But it will be a poor day for the church when it has no successors to Father Damien and David Livingstone and the host who have poured out their rich lives for the very lowest and least hopeful classes in society.

(5) Add to the foregoing the national movements for better living conditions, for research, for preventive medicine, and above all for combating the opium evil, and we have a program on physical welfare which calls for an amount of devotion, skill, patience and sympathy no whit less than has been given by the pioneers in the field.

After all, health is something far bigger than freedom from disease. It is that bodily vigor, resilience, joy, integration, harmonious functioning, which is the condition of the full life. What the Christian mission aims for is health that shall be the basis of a full life of creative service, the building of the kind of body that can meet the strains of life, that can help to lift the burden of others, that is fit to be the temple of the Holy Spirit. How few lives among China's millions reach any such standard it would be impossible to say. Is it or is it not the concern of those who are seized of the Christian spirit to take a hand in helping many more to reach it? If it is their concern, what is it they can do and how may it best be done? Such are some of the questions which the missionary movement of today is facing. As in the case of many another problem which we are looking at in this volume, we must turn for the answer to those who are at grips with the facts. It is the doctors and nurses at work in hospitals and itinerating in districts where no other help can come, meeting emergencies that carry them right into the stream, seeing every day the desperate physical conditions in the midst of which so many thousands live—it is they who are by far the most significant factor in answering such questions. What we need is a keener imagination and a larger sympathy, that we may realize human need and not try to determine our attitude on the strength of abstract considerations. We are the followers of One who, seeing the multitude, took compassion on them.

CHAPTER VI

FITTING INTO THE WORLD'S LIFE

IN DEALING with China's political situation, a passing reference has been made to international relations. More extended reference is now necessary. We have seen how in one field after another China's situation today is due to or largely influenced by the fact that she is in the process of coming into a world society which in the most active of its component parts is being guided by a philosophy, applying a method and developing a spirit in marked contrast to those that obtain in China. We have now to look in a more comprehensive way at the problem created by these world contacts.

THE UNILATERAL TREATIES

Most Chinese if asked today what is their country's chief problem in the international field would unhesitatingly answer, "To abolish the unequal treaties," or, speaking more positively, "To regain independence of action." To them China is today at a disadvantage among the powers because she has been treated as an inferior; because concessions have been wrung from her by force; because most foreign citizens in China cannot be haled before Chinese courts; because parts of her territory, and these among the

most prosperous parts, are under foreign control; because money has been lent to her on terms and under circumstances which she feels to be irksome and unfair. To be and to be recognized as being in every sense an equal with other great powers is a passion, one might almost say an obsession, with young China today.

It is very easy to understand and sympathize with this mood. China has a history more venerable than that of any of these "upstart" nations with which she is dealing. She has a population of about one-fifth of the entire human race. She has developed her own literature, customs, laws and social organization which have proved adequate to hold her people together for at least three thousand years. She has great resources in men and in wealth. She feels herself in the things that really matter "as good as any and better than most."

If we are to understand this intensely nationalistic mood we cannot forget the painful story of foreign aggression. Animated in the main by desire for commercial gain and working under the unrestrained capitalistic system as it grew up under the machine influence in the nineteenth century, one nation after another knocked at China's fast closed door. Being found difficult of entrance, its doorkeeper asleep or sullen, it was forced in by violence. One indignity after another was inflicted and suffered. The people as a whole were at first little conscious of the affront. Their alien Manchu governors could be humiliated

without their caring. Business came more freely. There were even advantages so far as the ordinary people were concerned. Why trouble about political rebuffs? But once the Chinese began to awaken to self-consciousness, this story was reviewed in a new light. It was evident that the great powers had scant respect for China. They had even discussed the partition of her territories among themselves; and it may surprise many in a generation to whom such a policy is absurd and unthinkable, to know that this brief phase, put an end to politically by Secretary Hay, has made a lasting mark upon the Chinese memory and still enters into many discussions as a relevant consideration. I have seen recently displayed in China as propaganda against foreigners maps showing the spheres of influence selected by different nations, giving the impression that these nations still plan to divide China as they divided Africa.

As in all human affairs, there is another side to the picture. Pride of race was to be found on both sides. Neither side saw nor cared to see the other's viewpoint. There was often provocation, duplicity, stubbornness, which the insistent foreigner found it impossible to tolerate. Passions were aroused, incidents that might have been overlooked or settled with a greater amount of patience became occasions of war. The indignation of many Chinese over actual or supposed affronts put upon their country and over the assumption of superiority by other nations can be exactly matched by the indignation felt by foreigners

in the early part of the last century at the assumption by Chinese that an immeasurable gulf existed between themselves and the dogs of barbarians who came to their shores. The reply of the Emperor Chien Lung to King George III in 1793 has so often been quoted to illustrate this as scarcely to bear repetition. Its whole tone is that of supreme condescension, the Oriental monarch calling the British monarch to "even greater devotion and loyalty in future, so that by perpetual submission to our throne you may secure peace and prosperity." The "unequal" treaties were in part the reaction of the West against an attitude of superiority by China of which the disabilities imposed on foreign traders was another manifestation.¹

Moreover, it is only fair to point out that China has gained many things through the enterprise of foreigners; her trade has expanded enormously, and her customs administration under foreign guidance has become one of the most honest and efficient in the world and a great lesson to Chinese officialdom; in the treaty ports security has been in large measure attained, and even now many Chinese hesitate at the thought of a purely native administration while political conditions are so uncertain and such large interests, Chinese no less than foreign, are at stake; in not a few cases the presence even of the disliked foreign gunboat on her inland waters has been a source of protection to innocent Chinese. These and other facts cannot be gainsaid, even though the senti-

¹ See H. F. MacNair, *China's International Relations*, p. 35 ff.

ment of China today is overwhelmingly in favor of cancelling the treaties whereby this system of foreign rights and privileges has been built up.

There is another consideration which cannot be overlooked. Extraterritoriality, which is the system whereby a foreigner resident in China is tried by his own nation's courts set up in Chinese territory and is not accountable to Chinese law, grew out of a situation likely to produce innumerable conflicts. Chinese law and the customs connected with it were so utterly different from those which had grown out of Roman law and had been adopted by Western nations, that a person tried in a Chinese court might often seem to be handled unjustly or too severely. For example, the death penalty would be inflicted after conviction for what we should call manslaughter or justifiable homicide. The laws of evidence were not clearly seen or accepted. Bribery and family influence played a large part in the reaching of decisions. Admitting at once that legal procedure in the West was imperfect and even that the West had something to learn from China in this field, it was evident that the conviction of foreigners under so different and little understood a system would be the cause of endless misunderstanding. The system of extraterritoriality has operated as an expedient to avoid such clashes until legal ideas are more nearly uniform, or at least until there is understanding of the system on the part of each. The system has been used in many cases besides that of China. The fault has lain in the first place in its not

being reciprocal, and in the second place in its continuance on the unilateral basis until it became a source not of avoiding difficulty but of accentuating it. The question now is how far China has proceeded toward the goal of adjustment of her judicial system to the ideals of other nations, and whether these nations can safely leave their citizens to be dealt with by Chinese courts, whether regular or special. It would seem as if most nations were inclined now to move in this direction and so to remove one source of constant international conflict. The more difficult question of the taking over by China of the leased territories in the principal treaty ports remains still unsolved.

Behind these questions lies a further one, and that is whether, even from the motive of self-interest, the gain in maintaining privileges so generally and deeply resented is not more than offset by the ill-will they foster. The history of Japan's treatment of this question is very illuminating.¹ It is in fact impossible to deny that the anti-foreign feeling in China today is based upon a long series of cases in which, whatever China's fault and granting all the difficulties encountered, her weakness has been repeatedly exploited and her elemental rights infringed.

When foreigners in China cry out against anti-foreign acts and the many unpleasant and dangerous aspects of life and travel in that country, they will do

¹ See F. C. Jones, *Extraterritoriality in Japan* (Yale University Press).

well to remember that there are two sides to the picture. It may not be amiss to remind ourselves that China has not sought contact with the West, that our first approaches met with steady resistance, that there is no obligation upon a nation to receive foreign guests, as witness the Oriental exclusion policies of the United States and other nations, and that in the main the West has gone to China for what she could get and not for what she could give. The fear of foreign aggression and the reaction against foreign nations have been prime factors in the development of the national spirit now manifest in China. At times it has seemed as if the tables had been turned and China, in the interests of creating a vigorous and effective nationalism, were now exploiting the issue of the presence of foreigners and overstating the danger to her national life from that cause. If that be so, let us remember that patriotism the world over has commonly been stimulated in just such ways, and that nothing has been more effective in creating national consciousness than an appeal to such fears of the purposes of other nations as have been felt in China relative to Japan, Great Britain, Russia and other nations at various periods since 1911.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MISSIONARY

We have looked at this problem rather closely because the missionary is intimately related to it in several ways, some of which may be noted thus:

Missionaries come from the nations which still

maintain the unilateral treaties, and are often identified with the policies of these nations and come under criticism in a general way.

Missionaries themselves are included among the beneficiaries or possible beneficiaries under these treaties, though cases where a missionary has actually been haled before any court are so few as to be negligible.

The treaties have given special privileges to missionaries to reside and to purchase property in inland China where traders have had no such rights.

The treaties have included special protection for Chinese Christians under the religious toleration clause.

In past days Roman Catholic missionaries were given a certain official status, offered to but refused by Protestants, and their influence and sometimes that of Protestants also was often exerted in legal cases, especially where they believed their converts were being unfairly treated because they were Christians.

This brief summary will show that whether he likes it or not, the missionary finds himself so far identified with a problem that China sees as an outstanding one, that he is virtually compelled to take sides. That is to say, even if he says nothing he is regarded as taking sides against China's national aspiration. What should he do? He does not want to become involved in a political issue. He does not want to oppose his country and take sides against his fellow-nationals, yet he cannot be a missionary in China at all except as a

privileged person. Some missionaries have felt this position so keenly that they have seriously considered naturalizing as Chinese. Protests have been made against specific acts by the nationals of the powers concerned. But the most important action has been that taken by most of the missionary societies and by the representative organizations of missionary opinion themselves, in America and in Britain. These state explicitly that they "do not desire any distinctive privileges for missions and missionaries imposed by treaty," and express their readiness to see the practice of extraterritoriality abolished.¹

To some students of missions who have not thought into or followed this development it may seem almost obnoxious, or at any rate incongruous, that missionaries should become in any way involved in these complex international affairs. Let it be clear that the situation is not one into which the individual missionary has forced himself save in rare instances; it is one which has so developed that to many a missionary an integral part of his Christian witness is the attitude he has taken on these living issues. Involved in them without choice, he must nevertheless choose how he will act in regard to them.

THE MISSIONARY AND CHRISTENDOM

Getting behind the particular point at which the issue has been most acutely felt, we may state a general proposition as follows: To the Chinese mind the

¹ For a full statement of actions taken, see the *China Mission Year Book* for 1926, pp. 483-534, and for a discussion of principles, articles by Harold Balme and J. J. Heeren.

Western nations are Christian; national acts and attitudes are no less a part of the Christian approach to China than the work of foreign missions; some of these acts and attitudes are cited as in direct opposition to the standards embodied not only in Chinese classics but in the New Testament; the missionary's position is, to say the least, ambiguous.

In a careful historical study of the relation of the missionary movement to China's international development a Chinese scholar, Dr. C. K. Wu, concludes his argument with the following sentences: "As to the future of the missionary movement in China one can only speculate. It can be said, however, with assurance that it is inextricably linked up with the settlement of such outstanding problems as the abolition of extra-territoriality, the establishment of complete tariff autonomy, and the retrocession of foreign settlements and concessions. All signs point to the fact that the missionary movement has entered a new era. Never before has the movement faced such a complex situation. Now, probably for the first time, the 'heathen' East in general and China in particular vigorously challenges the supremacy of Christendom. In this connection one must not forget the fact that it was Christendom that sought the East, and that therefore if the bridge which is beginning to span the civilizations of East and West now falls into a new and wider chasm, it will be because Christendom refuses to change its ways or its thinking."¹

¹ *The International Aspect of the Missionary Movement in China*, p. 247.

It is well to see ourselves as others see us, and in this moderate statement we hear the echo of a view widely shared among young Chinese. To them the religion of Jesus can only be saved by clearly dissociating Christ and Christendom as the Chinese have known it; and if this is to be done the missionary must do it. He must do it in part by exerting his influence in his own special line, and in part by sharing in the broader and bolder attempt to Christianize the contacts of East and West. Is this challenge a fair one or is it asking too much of the missionary? The non-Christian Chinese are not alone in making it. I remember vividly a gathering of Chinese pastors and Christian leaders in Manchuria following the World War. The discussion had turned to international relations. The war tension was still felt, and a question was asked me as to the action of the Christian countries. As a preliminary to my answer I made the to me obvious remark that no country could rightly be called Christian, and to my astonishment a spontaneous cheer broke out. I became aware of the heavy burden these men had been trying to carry before their fellow-countrymen because they as Christians were supposed to stand for what the "Christian" countries had done. Yet more vivid in my memory is the young Chinese who came to me in England during the war, having lost his faith through hearing nothing but war sermons, to tell me that he had found it again because in a book of mine written from the pacifist viewpoint he felt he had met at last someone who "believed in

the same Jesus that he did." In such persons we meet not cynical opponents but tender consciences as of little children, and it is a serious thing if by action or inaction we cause any of them to offend. The missionary who sees the situation thus simply cannot run away from it. He need not pronounce himself a pacifist or dissociate himself from any of his nation's acts—that is a matter for his own conscience; but to shirk the issue of the conflict involved between Christian ideals and the practices of "Christian" countries is suicidal so far as any good he can do in many circles in China today.

What are the lines along which we may seek for a satisfactory solution of this problem? Before indicating an answer, let us look at some other present-day aspects of China's international problem.

1. *China and Russia*

Second only to the problem of the unequal treaties is China's relation to Soviet Russia and to communistic philosophy. Here we see another great missionary force at work among the Chinese. When the Kuomintang opened its doors to the communists an opportunity came to Russia similar to that which had been offered to the missionaries of the West by the signing of the treaties. These emissaries of the new faith now had a definite foothold in the organization that was to shape Chinese history for several years and that may influence it for generations. They were not slow to

seize the opportunity. Russia gave to China, as we have already seen, a certain social passion which, while it ran to excess, cannot be set aside as merely vicious activity. The reorganization of the party, its fresh inspiration for its task, its adoption of new methods of propaganda and military strategy, contributed very markedly to the rapid achievements of 1926 and 1927 whereby a big step toward national unity was taken. Nevertheless China in the end reacted against this influence, which at one time seemed to be becoming too strong to be thrown off. It is by no means certain that she has been finally successful, and the extent of Russian influence in China is a matter which hangs in the balance. In two or three provinces communism, at the time of this writing, is virtually in control, and there is every indication that a stupendous effort will yet be made to establish it throughout the country. China may thus be on the verge of one of the fiercest struggles in her history.

What is to be the missionary's attitude in the situation? On the one hand he sees in Russia a dark and terrible menace to all that he values most; he cannot for one moment admit that it is defensible or possible to eliminate God from any social planning. At the same time he realizes that it was Russia which met and helped China at the moment of crisis, and that some good things have reached China from this source. He cannot, in the matter of Russian influence in China, be simply an unconcerned spectator.

2. *Foreign Assistance*

Anyone who has lived through the last few years in China must repeatedly have asked himself whether it is possible for her to win through without some help from outside given in a more systematic and persistent way than through the visits of persons and commissions. The idea of foreign assistance is an old one and in many of its phases reflects little credit on the nations which have proposed it. As far back as 1900 we had the Concert of the Powers, whose activities were so terribly marred by the looting and destruction associated with the entry into Peking. Financial co-operation has been attempted in varied ways and with different groups, but the motive of national gain, the urge of trade monopolies, have vitiated this approach and made China not unnaturally skeptical in regard to any good result. By the arms embargo of 1919 certain powers acting together attempted in a negative way to further the interests of Chinese pacification, but no attempt was made to prevent the various nationals from helping China to build arsenals. This embargo was cancelled in 1929. In the Washington Nine-Power Treaty a further attempt was made, but its ratification was long delayed and when it came into effect, revolutionary China was in no mood to accept what seemed to her such a paternalistic type of assistance.¹

¹For a brief summary of this story, see Dr. Holcombe in *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, vol. 152, p. 347 ff.

Now China is beginning herself to turn to other nations, and in particular to the League of Nations. At the time of writing it is impossible to say whether the final effect of the League's efforts in regard to the Sino-Japanese dispute will be to enhance or to decrease its prestige in China. With a government disposed to receive help from that quarter, there would seem to be real hope of international cooperation.

As the League has been able on occasion to bring financial help to certain European powers without those countries having felt themselves put into chains thereby, it may be hoped that China can receive help on these as well as other lines in her stupendous task of national reconstruction. Once she can truly believe that the help is disinterested, and once the powers can assure themselves that she is determined to do her full part in creating peace and reconstructing her national life, there would seem to be every prospect of effective cooperation. Russia indeed would urge that the price to be paid for this financial help is, not in interest alone but in virtual slavery to capitalism, far too high, and that China must follow the tedious method of developing only as fast as she can raise her own capital. At present this view does not seem to prevail in China. It may be laid down, however, that from some quarter—Russia, Japan, the United States, the League—China must get help, whether in finance, education, military and naval development, or in other fields. Is the missionary altogether unconcerned

as to whence this help comes and as to the way in which it is given?

3. *China and the United States*

For the missionary from the United States, the relation of his country to China will naturally claim some specific attention. The two greatest populations that face the Pacific basin have so much in common and have between them so great a part to play in this region of the earth, that it is surprising that the United States has been so long in awakening to this factor of China, the greatest undeveloped market and one of the greatest undeveloped producing countries in the world, and now by air and rapid ocean transit so near a neighbor. Americans have reason for a certain pride—not without alloy, perhaps—as they look back upon the diplomatic history of the relation of the two peoples. The stand taken by Secretary Hay against partition has already been referred to. The United States alone among the great powers has claimed no rights in Chinese territory, though she shares in the administration of the International Settlement in Shanghai. She was indeed involved in the punitive expedition to Peking in 1900 and no credit can be claimed for that, but she made haste to return a part and finally the whole of her share of the indemnity in order that it might be invested in education for Chinese youth. She has refused to be a party to loan operations which she felt to be unsatisfactory. She

joined in the disgraceful provisions worked out at Versailles whereby parts of Shantung were left under Japanese control, but she called the Washington Conference in 1921 and with Great Britain was instrumental in removing that blot from the scutcheon. She has caused China chagrin in the Oriental exclusion legislation, but through missionaries and missionary institutions, in munificent famine relief efforts, and in such a gift as the Peking Union Medical College, she has done much to exhibit a great friendliness. The thousands of students who have studied in American universities have generally, though not always, returned with enthusiasm for many American institutions and ideals. In this brief summary we remind ourselves that the lines are laid for still closer relations.

China in her turn has been influencing the United States more than is commonly realized.¹ Contacts are being made at many points and there is no reason to suppose we have nearly reached the limit. Sometimes missionary work is criticized as disturbing people best left alone. So far as America and China are concerned, each must influence the other for good or ill in a thousand ways, whatever missionaries do or leave undone. The question the missionary has to ponder is, what is going to be made of these contacts? Are they to be used for the kingdom of God? Or shall they be

¹ See G. T. Renner on "Chinese Influence in the Development of Western United States," *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci.*, vol. 152, p. 356 ff.

left to develop on economic, physical, and aesthetic grounds without the religious taking its place as the crown of them all?

CHRISTIAN INTERNATIONALISM

In the light of these several considerations, we may come back to our main point regarding the missionary's relation to the course of international events in China.

Is it too much to hope that the missionary and the Chinese Christian leader might fulfil in China today something of the function of the great prophets of Israel in their time? For those prophets international relations were instinct with supreme moral issues. They saw God as the God of history, leading men on towards the day when there should be no more war. Is our international life not in as great need of prophets as ever theirs was? Few are the minds that clearly discern the ethical implications in political events and dare to issue such challenges as we may read in the prophetic writings. In a day like this, is it possible to name the high and holy Name without relating it to the ways in which races spurn other races, nations trample on nations, classes oppress classes? Religion is being judged today, whether in East or West, by its courage and insight in relation to war and exploitation and race prejudice, just those wrongs which stir the indignation of any nation or race or group that has been made to feel its inferiority by

another nation or race or group which arrogates to itself all the wisdom and integrity of the ages.

A great moral message grows not only out of a perception of divine truth and justice but also out of a sympathetic approach to one's fellow-men. As an interpreter of East to West not less than as an interpreter of West to East, the missionary begins to appear on the horizon as a truly significant figure. There have been many men, men like Timothy Richard and Bishop Bashford, who have filled that role, who have made it their business to let their own country see the greatness of China and feel the justice of her cause and the possibilities for her future. In a measure every missionary, if he has looked with understanding eyes upon the people among whom he works, can be such an interpreter. What need there is of such if we are not to drift into conflict and bitterness!

Through schools, colleges, literature, personal contacts, a great field is open to the missionary to make known and effective the gospel of peace. To find students in a mission college lined up for military drill is to receive a severe shock, one which came to me as long ago as 1905, long before any Chinese government was insisting on this element in the curriculum, and it was a peculiar satisfaction to learn years afterward of seniors in another college asking their president to stop this practice because they had been impressed by their study of one of my own books. I give this instance of military drill in a mission college simply as an example of the kind of thing which some-

times exists because the implications are not faced. There is a whole range of subjects which, if approached positively and handled in a Christian spirit, will help towards the development of world-minded persons. Above all it is in personal contact on a basis of genuine equality that the temper is created out of which world citizenship grows. In China's stage of acute nationalism it may often be difficult to show this temper. During the years that followed the Shanghai incident of 1925, I as a Britisher repeatedly found myself in places where my nation was misrepresented and her good was evil-spoken of. It was sometimes possible to correct a mistake but often it seemed better to remain silent under provocation, because the occasion and atmosphere were such that the suggestion of another side of the story would lead only to heat without light. Was that cowardice or a contribution to international good-will? We might say that misstatements must be corrected in the interest of good-will no less than of truth. In the abstract and to the Westerner this seems the one course to take, yet how often has the taking of it deepened the very evil we sought to set right. It is in situations such as this that the foreign missionary must learn to walk as a faithful follower of Christ.

We have already pointed out that the missionary is involved in the whole treaty situation. To know just how to meet it is not easy, and there are wide differences of opinion within the missionary body. My own view is that if we come to another country with the

message of Christ, we should be prepared to accept the risks involved for property, person, or family, and that to invoke the aid of one's country when that may involve armed intervention or plainly rests upon the threat of it, is out of harmony with the truth one is seeking to proclaim. Others feel that not to invoke the aid of country under certain circumstances is to let down one's fellow-countrymen and to acquiesce in lawlessness in a way which is good neither for the individuals concerned nor for the nation to which they belong. What is mainly contended for here is that issues like this must be thought through by the missionary and that his answer to them is a part of his total message, especially at a time like the present in China. In facing them he needs the careful thought, support and strength of the home church.

There are similar problems connected with the demand for or acceptance of indemnities in case of damage to property or life, or ransom when the missionary is captured by brigands; acceptance of an armed escort in travel; foreign gunboat protection on the great rivers; resort to legal redress in cases of religious persecution, and so forth, on each of which the missionary is at times called to take a stand. What is his view of the place of force in establishing or in safeguarding right? What is his conception of the law of justice in relation to the law of love? What is his experience of God's love in his own life and as a power with which to overcome evil? On the answer to such fundamental questions will hang his action in

many cases. No easy solution can be offered, but again let us remember that we cannot avoid the issue, nor can we regard the answer made as irrelevant to the central purpose of the missionary's life. The way in which a number of missionaries met the Boxer uprising, the record of certain missionaries at the time of the attack on foreigners at Nanking in March 1927, and a number of other notable instances should be studied for evidence of the missionary's spirit in action. The refusal of a mission body to accept an indemnity for loss of life, the way in which many a missionary has gone unprotected into spots of known danger—these are imperishable records which make their own deep impression in China. The international witness is often made in such ways.

The foreign missionary cannot escape the fact that he is an international figure. Long ago Lord Salisbury, English Premier and Foreign Minister, remarked that missionaries were not popular at the Foreign Office. Too many awkward issues were raised by them. Sometimes, seeing a great evil like the opium traffic, they made themselves a nuisance. Sometimes their preaching undermined old customs and produced a ferment of new ideas which shook officials out of their ruts as time-honored policies became affected. Sometimes the capture or death of a missionary in a remote corner of the world set wires buzzing and men thinking in great capital cities; sometimes, alas, an expedition was fitted out or a piece of territory captured on the pretext that a missionary had

been murdered by a lawless mob. It would indeed seem ludicrous to think of China claiming territorial compensation, say a port on the Pacific, as compensation for the murder of a Chinese by a racketeer in this country, yet what is the fundamental difference between that and Germany's seizure of Kiaochow in 1897 after the murder of two missionaries?

History has been deeply influenced by missions and missionaries. This being the case, it is a matter of urgent concern that the missionary should not be swept into the drift of unthinking current opinion on these great questions. He is and he should be a good citizen of his own country, but he is and should be more than that. In the country to which he goes he should be deeply sensitive to national aspirations and ideals. Where his own country has failed he should dare to be its critic. Above all he stands for a conception of God as Father and for a loyalty to the kingdom which embraces and yet transcends the lesser loyalties to which men may rightly give themselves. To be in this deeper sense an international figure is the missionary's privilege and his high calling.

CHAPTER VII

TO BELIEVE OR NOT TO BELIEVE

IN OUR study of a great people we have thus far looked at their spiritual needs through the medium of their material needs. At this point we ask ourselves how far we may count upon the existence among them of a distinct sense of religious need. It is true of China as of other countries that many people go about their daily work with no clear sense of what we commonly call religious need. If they can get enough to eat and drink and clothe themselves, if they have friends, amusements, interests, health, why speculate about God and think of any unknowable future after death? Live decently, do your job, be neighborly, keep up your courage, and leave these religious problems for those who have a certain temperament. "We do not know life," said Confucius; "how, then, can we know death?" A profound query, and one which fits the temper of many an author who is influencing modern America not less than modern China.

PRIMITIVE RELIGION

And yet the religious quest of mankind cannot be so lightly dismissed, as China's history shows clearly enough in spite of her deep reverence for the great sage. For China has expressed her underlying faith in

a spiritual order in many ways noble and pathetic. Her supreme act of worship, when the emperor, on behalf of the whole people, made his yearly sacrifice on the Altar of Heaven in Peking, expressed that sense of dependence upon God which man feels when he stands under the starlit heavens, when he watches the growing of his crops, when he looks for the first time upon a new-born babe. This ceremony, performed in a setting made impressive by its natural beauty and by the beauty of the simple structure, with its three white marble tiers and open platform, carried with it something of that wonder and awe which we find in the classical writings, and seemed to bind the nation together in mute prayer. One of the tragedies of modern change is that it has now been discontinued—there is no single national representative to perform the rite.

At the other extreme is the Chinese family altar referred to in a previous chapter. Ancestor worship brings the spiritual world into the intimacies of home life. It is the real religion of the people, evidence that they are aware of unseen factors in life which are not the less real because they cannot be weighed and measured or bought and sold. To this universal practice must be added, if we are to see the religious background of China, the many religious rites connected with Buddhism, a faith which has had a tremendous hold upon the common folk. To go to a temple, especially at the time of some great festival, to watch the devout worship there, to see an old woman on tiny

bound feet hobbling weary miles to reach the place of prayer, to hear the chants of the monks or the song of pilgrims, to see covering the walls of a temple room the scrolls recording answered prayer, to stand in a busy section of Shanghai, most modern of cities, and see folk passing in and out continuously through the doorway of the little old temple in Nanking Road—these are some of the experiences that burn into consciousness the fact that religion—primitive, superstitious, futile you may call it if you will—holds a place scarcely less than it ever held in the lives of many millions of Chinese. And this religion is sincere and simple. Who shall say that it is not found worthy in the heart of the Eternal? Anyone who would appreciate China's religious problem must enter into sympathy with this side of her life, must by no means dismiss it as irrelevant because other ideas have broken into modern China, disturbing, cynical, materialistic, destructive.

It may be said that for the great masses of China at the beginning of the twentieth century religious ideas and practices were little different from what they had been at the beginning of the Christian era. There was no clear-cut religious philosophy which was universally accepted. Ancestor worship, fear of evil spirits, belief in an after life of terrible and also brilliant possibilities, the need of propitiating gods who could control one's destiny, the dread of what must happen if such were neglected and yet withal the

belief that the gods could easily be hoodwinked by devices too trivial to deceive a child, the assumption that the priests and geomancers had an inside line on burial places, lucky days, and the wishes and purposes of the divinities in general—all these combined to make a jumble of superstitions, fears and hopes in sharp contrast to the more specific system, for example, of Islam. The crudity and ignorance are obvious, yet even these were in many cases accompanied by a reverent and trustful spirit and an uprightness of character such as we recognize as the finest flower of the most developed religion.

IS RELIGION LOSING OUT?

Yet new and destructive ideas have come, and China today is full of them. By many the old ideas which have always been identified with concepts of religion have been utterly discarded, never to be restored. For many more a doubt has crept in which robs the old religious ideas of their power to soothe and uplift. For countless others the day is surely coming when religion in any such form as this will be bowed out forever. If the country were retaining its ancient faith, we should be facing in our day the problem the early missionaries faced in their day: how to bring to China ideas which all missionaries believe to be truer and of greater value, showing by argument, by example, and by loving service the faith which burns in their hearts. Now it is nearer the

truth, for young China at least, to say that the task of the missionaries is how to hold for any faith in God those who are fast losing or have already lost any faith they ever had.

A Chinese writer, Professor T. C. Chao of Yenching University, has recently stated the situation in a very telling way. He says: "Religion in China may be considered as at its lowest ebb today. . . . All the important problems of life in China, such as birth, age, sickness, death, planting and harvesting, etc., embody religious characteristics. . . . During the last five years not only has the number of people frequenting temples to burn incense considerably decreased, but there is a gradual and almost complete abandonment of the amusements once identified with religion. Such social activities as idol processions, incense conferences, city-god conferences with their colorful paraphernalia, have almost become events of the past; making vows and redeeming pledges before gods, theatrical performances before gods, numerous festive celebrations . . . have been given up or interrupted. Under these conditions of intense suffering and growing poverty, as well as superstition, has come a one-sided stringent order of the government and the political party 'to regulate superstition.' The effect has been to take away those simple expressions of art and the little comforts, amusements, and respite which the people got from religion; everything has been swept away. . . . Their wanton destruction raises

hardly any protest; the gods evidently no longer live in the mind of the people."¹

If this be a true picture of China today, and there can be no doubt that it is true for many parts of the country, how can it be explained? Is it possible that not only Russia but China also is engaged in the process of deliberately stamping religion out of the national life? We might note here some of the influences working against religion.

(1) The roots of the anti-religious movement are to be found in modern scientific education. Is it any wonder that a religion identified with such gross superstition should give way before an enlightened view of the universe?

(2) There is the influence of Soviet Russia, which extends in China far beyond the group that is labeled communist. The Christian religion as known in Czarist Russia may be a very different thing from that which is known to China, but the spirit of opposition to all religion and to Christianity in particular has been immensely strengthened from the quarter of Soviet Russian influence.

(3) So far as the anti-religious movement is directed against Christianity, it is part of the general reaction against all foreign influences and the "cultural exploitation" already referred to.

(4) To the foregoing forces may be added the general trend of thinking in China which we call revolu-

¹ *Chinese Recorder* for November 1930, p. 677. See also the same author's article in the *China Christian Year Book* for 1931, p. 63 ff.

tionary, the desire to be done with the old and to take on the new. There is an assumption by many that religion is simply one of the relics of a bygone age and the sooner it is wholly discarded the better.

STRUGGLING AGAINST THE TIDE

It must not be supposed that the ancient religions of China are, any more than Christianity is, in the mood simply to accept defeat. Confucianism, being more of a moral philosophy than a religion, has least to fear. In 1928 the Ministry of Education ordered the cessation of the annual sacrifices to Confucius, but honor is still done to him, and the same ministry has taken over his temple in Nanking in order to make it into a memorial hall to him and for no other purpose.

Buddhism is a more active cult and in several parts of the country efforts are being made to rethink fundamental Buddhist ideas. The tendency of this movement, however, is philosophical rather than religious, although there are signs of a religious hunger among Buddhist monks and lay devotees. The outstanding exponent of what may be called a neo-Buddhism is T'ai Hsu, reformer and thinker, a student of Western literature and an able writer and speaker. There is also a movement for the use of silent meditation, and there are business men in Shanghai who may be found in the middle of the working day taking an hour of quiet for reflection and prayer. Retreats for meditation and fellowship have been held. We quote from the description of one of these as follows: "Five

times a day for an entire month devout Buddhists, men and women, gathered for congregational reading of the Tripitakas. It was held at the residence of one of the leading merchants of Shanghai. . . . One Sunday afternoon at six, seventy people gathered in a large hall for the final session of the day. For a solid hour in a room filled with the fragrance of burning incense, led by some priests with the steady clock-like beating of the wooden bell, we read together the Sutra, which told the story of a prince in a distant country attaining Buddhahood through self-sacrifice. . . . The experience was unique; it revealed the secret power of Buddhism."¹ A central organization with headquarters in Nanking has also been set up to work for religious liberty.

Little can be said of Taoism, which has greatly degenerated and shows few if any signs of being able to meet the new conditions, but a number of groups have been formed in recent years which have some kinship with it. Notable among these was the Tao Yuan, which used spiritualistic methods and which grew very rapidly a few years ago. "What impresses an outsider in the Tao Yuan movement is not its spiritualistic communications or its mystic eclecticism, but the missionary fervor and joyous community spirit that pervades the group."² Little, however, has been heard of this movement in the last few years,

¹ Y. Y. Tsu in *Chinese Recorder* for December 1925, pp. 779-780.

² *Ibid.*, p. 778. See F. W. S. O'Neill, *The Quest for God in China*, ch. III, for a fuller account of this movement.

and it is very doubtful if it can be considered as more than a passing phenomenon.

Compared with the enthusiasm of the anti-religious propagandists and the wide publicity given to their campaign, the efforts to hold the ground for ancient religions or to extend new ones seem weak and scattered, but they are evidence that the longing for some sense of spiritual realities is not dead in China. The same truth is evidenced even more clearly by the many Chinese who still turn to Christianity and who are determined, in spite of all that is urged against it in these days, to extend its influence.

IS NATIONALISM A RELIGION?

There is an evidence of China's tacit admission of her need of religion which is more significant than anything we have yet considered, namely the way in which the nation has rallied around the personality of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The relationship of church and state is one of the most ancient of human problems, a reflection of which comes to us not only from our own scriptures but from Egyptian and Babylonian inscriptions. Repeatedly in human history rulers have desired to secure a divine sanction for their authority and to use religion as a means for binding together the nation. It is not long since the doctrine of the divine right of kings was fervently held in Europe and even in England. It may even be said that the old adage, "*Vox populi vox Dei*," gives for many people a kind of divine sanction to democracy itself.

Faced with the imminent breakdown of the old moral sanctions and the lack of any widely accepted substitute, China, like Russia, conceived the idea of using a national hero to make a virtual religion out of nationalism.

We have already seen something of the way in which this "canonization" of Sun Yat-sen has proceeded. It is true that the forms and ceremonies have already become to many a mere ritual. Yet it is possible in many places to step into a memorial ceremony such as is held weekly in all schools, and to feel that just those elements in human nature which have been called out by religion have been enlisted for this new rite. When Dr. Sun's will is read aloud there is a sense of the whole group being united in a common purpose such as a great religious objective gives. It is a purpose in which individual wills are merged and private aims lost sight of. When the picture of the dead leader is looked upon, hearts are stirred to loyalty and emulation at the thought of one who spared not himself for the good of his people, and who died without having seen the fulfilment of his dream. To follow him and make that dream come true becomes, at least for a moment, an absorbing thought. In the silence may arise that consciousness of dedicated spirits girding themselves in mutual self-sacrifice to a supreme effort. When the three bows are made, reverence of the hero passes over for some into a worshipful temper.

In one sense, of course, it would be quite mislead-

ing to call what has been named Sanminism¹ a religion. It lacks the one essential, a knowledge of or fellowship with God. But religion has filled so large a place in human society that we cannot too narrowly limit our definition of it. It has served and still serves in many places to supply sanctions for moral conduct, to call forth supreme loyalty and devotion, to nerve for self-sacrifice, to give a sense of direction to the individual and to the group. These functions have been largely performed by Shintoism in Japan and by the communist faith as centered in Lenin in Russia; without a God-centered religion, could China find an object of loyalty, of something akin to worship, that would fulfil them for her heterogeneous population? Scarcely realizing, it may be, the full implications of what they were doing, the leaders of the Kuomintang immediately after Dr. Sun's death set about establishing him and his principles in the minds of the people as a kind of religious orthodoxy which none might dare to challenge. How far have they been or can they be successful?

In answering this question a useful parallel can be drawn from Russia. In a suggestive article entitled "The Religion of Communism" Reinhold Niebuhr says: "Religion in minimum terms is devotion to a cause which goes beyond the warrant of pure nationality, and in maximum terms it is the confidence that the success of the cause and of the values asso-

¹ From *San Min Chu I*, by Dr. Sun, referred to in ch. II and elsewhere.

ciated with it is guaranteed by the character of the universe itself."¹ The author claims that communism undoubtedly passes the minimum standard, and in its view of economic determinism and the temper of its devotees shows itself well on the way to reaching the maximum one. Communism and Sanminism both seek to center national devotion in a personality and in an almost religious attitude towards that personality. Both announce a set of principles as a kind of Bible, the communist manifesto and the Three Principles of Dr. Sun. Both have been developed by a small group of disciples and passed out to a nation in the effort to catch and focalize the national temper. Both have swept through the nation in a surprising way. In many respects they are similar.

But the contrasts are not less significant. China as yet lacks anything like the apocalyptic outlook and assurance of ultimate triumph which has nerved and inspired the communist ranks. China's saint lays no claim to bringing a world gospel and heralding a world revolution. He is far more frankly nationalistic than Lenin. Behind communism lies a body of learned work and the thinking of many able people, to a degree not true of the Three Principles, which are manifestly cruder in their form of presentation even though they may be less far removed from economic orthodoxy. Communism, further, seems to have developed an inner discipline, a sustained and passionate devotion which cannot be said to be matched

¹ *Atlantic Monthly* for April 1931, p. 462.

by anything in China today. Perhaps this is partly due to the narrower and more dogmatic position taken up in Russia, and the different type of people with which communism there is working. Our analysis of the situation would lead us to expect that the failure of Sanminism to take the place of a religion in life will be apparent sooner than a similar failure in the case of communism. In neither case do we believe that real religious satisfactions are to be found in a view of life that leaves out God and seeks to make religion nothing more than the basis for social action.

THE NEED FOR SOMETHING MORE

Viewed in this light, then, the religious problem of China may be restated thus: Turning away from her traditional faiths as inadequate to meet her present need, China, for a time and in part, may find religious values in the nationalism that centers in Dr. Sun and his writings; but there will be seen to remain, ever more clearly as time passes, a need which neither from the one side nor the other is at present being met. Speaking to the Philosophical Society of Peking in 1922 when the anti-religious movement was beginning its greatest activity, Liang Chi-chao, one of China's most eminent and forward-looking scholars said, "Religion is an invaluable asset to human society. In the individual it is the vital force of his life, and in society it is the vital force of its life. The greatest source of weakness in Chinese national life

is lack of vital religion." China needs not a substitute for religion; she needs this vital force itself. For the Christian this force is nothing less than the life of God which can enter into a man, bringing a rebirth, a transformation, an invigoration which can come from no other known source. For the Christian again the unique expression of that force working in human nature was in Jesus Christ, and through him it may flood other lives and has been doing so in all centuries since. The Christian religion claims to be able to bring this force into human lives and into human society. By its power to do this today will it succeed or fail in modern China. No social program, no idealistic teaching, no clever apologetic will in the last analysis avail. What we have now to ask ourselves is whether the Christian movement in China shows promise of meeting this situation, and what are the conditions of success in so high an endeavor.

Underlying the whole missionary movement is one assumption which may be stated in many ways. In the early days of missions the statement might have been somewhat as follows: Christianity is the true religion revealed by the one true God, all other religions are inventions of the devil; our duty is to proclaim the one and to destroy the other. What is fundamentally the same assumption in modern dress might be stated thus: There are elements of truth in every great religion which has held the minds and hearts of men; these elements are all to be found in Christianity, which, as the truest and best, transcends all and in-

cludes what is worth preserving in all; therefore we are called to give Christianity to the world. The change in our attitude towards other great religions has been profound. The underlying assumption remains. It is this assumption which is challenged from many quarters today. An able book, *Religion in a Changing World*, published recently by the Jewish rabbi Abba H. Silver, states the challenge clearly: "In place of one religion for all mankind, civilization should foster one reverence for all religions, for all religions have a providential mission to perform in the world. There is no true religion and there is no false religion." For this writer and many who share his view the problem we all have to face is to find a *modus vivendi* among the great religions, just as the various Protestant denominations have found, in China and in America, great fields for cooperative endeavor without surrendering their several tenets. Very strikingly he says, "We need not be concerned about the presence of many religions in the world. Religion is failing to play its proper role in society today not because there are too many religions in the world but because there is too little religion in any of them. They have all wandered far from the wells of their original inspiration."

At the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1928 the whole topic of the relation of religions to one another was overshadowed by the common realization that secularism is the common enemy today, and that in every great mission

field it is becoming ever more clear that the struggle for this generation is far less between one religion and another than between a religious and a secular or materialistic view of life. China, as we have seen, provides no exception. We are living in an age when religious dogmatism is unfashionable, though it may be that there is already on the horizon, in the Barthian movement and elsewhere, some sign of a return to the more dogmatic presentation. Can we accept the view that all the missionary is concerned to do is to give the best he knows, without assumption that it is superior to what he finds elsewhere? Can he surrender the aim of conversion to Christianity and remain in any true sense a missionary? Can he, consistently with his basic principles, join hands with sincere Buddhists, let us say, in seeking to proclaim a spiritual view of life or any other answer to the secularism of the day?

VALUES IN CHINESE RELIGIONS

The meeting of China's religious problem will not, it seems to me, come through any presentation of the Christian message which ignores, still less which belittles, the immense values in China's own religious heritage. We need to look at these long enough to realize in some small measure their abiding significance. The foundation of all true living to the Confucian is *ch'eng*, sincerity, which carries with it the conception of harmonious adjustment to the universe. When the word of Jesus bids man worship in spirit

and in truth, it suggests much the same principle, that only as a man is utterly honest with himself can he arrive at the knowledge of God which is life. Accordingly to Confucius this sincerity is manifested in an individual through *jen*, which is benevolence or love, the word which comes nearest to the Greek *agape*, the essentially human quality expressed in relationship between persons. In specific situations love so operates as to produce righteousness, *i*, which in its turn is made concrete through propriety, *li*. The Sage just falls short, then, of telling us explicitly that God is love, but he does believe in a universe so made that, as we are in harmony with it, our spirits will be loving and our actions just. To see such profound truths cast aside as irrelevant today is almost to make one a propagandist for Confucianism.

In Taoism we find the conception of a great inward force working not by effort or violence but by its own quiet, spontaneous, never resting influence. Virtue, *teh*, is conduct in accordance with this *tao*, or way. It is "absence of self-directed effort, activity only in so far as it is the outcome of the spontaneity of the immanent Tao."¹ Constantly in reading the little classic (Tao Teh King) containing the essence of this philosophy, we are reminded of the teaching of Jesus and his disciples on non-resistance and on the indwelling of the spirit. That the philosophy in this classic tends towards an unhealthy quietism we may admit,

¹ MacLagan on "The Tao Teh King," in *China Review*, vol. xxiii, p. 79, quoted in *The Quest for God in China*, p. 39.

that it has been grievously overlaid with superstition and foolish interpretations is all too obvious, yet in it and in its interpretation by Chuangtzu two hundred years later are gems of purest truth for all.

To the new Buddhist teaching we have already referred. It must be remembered that the teaching of this religion in China belongs to the Mahayana or Pure Land school and gives an interpretation of Buddhism almost as different from the original doctrine as the New Testament is different from the Old. In the worship of Kwangyin, goddess of mercy, in the practice of prayer, and in the conception of the after-life Chinese Buddhism comes far nearer to Christianity than the austere teachings of Gotama. To the mass of the people Buddhism brings heaven and earth near to one another, bridging the gulf which Confucius leaves almost unbridgeable.

THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

Perhaps enough has been said in these very inadequate sentences to make possible some sense of reverent wonder as we glance into the sanctuaries of these ancient faiths. God who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke to the fathers through the prophets, has surely come to China through such avenues, even when his name is not used and his voice is but faintly heard. There still remains the question with which we began: In what sense are we to think of Jesus as unique? Is the answer to China's religious need only to be found as her people see in

Jesus God manifest in the flesh, the Truth Confucius saw to be basic, the Way that Laotze seemed to glimpse, the Life that Buddhism reverences and offers to men? Is the answer to Rabbi Silver's position simply that the one hope for unity is when men the world over see God through Christ, and that therefore it is a matter of concern to all Christians to work for the triumph of their own faith over all others?

Those of us who hold this view are forced to be very humble as we think of the failures of Christendom and of our own failure. No dialectic will prove it to others, especially to the high-minded, sincere and self-denying followers of another faith. There is only one way of demonstrating so great a claim, and that is by showing a kind of life, both in the individual and in group relationships, that makes its own unanswerable appeal to those to whom we go. Dr. Reichelt, who for years has carried on a mission which in a very remarkable way has found contacts with Buddhist devotees, addressed in 1923 a world conference of Buddhists on the prologue to St. John's Gospel, where the Chinese word *tao* is given as the translation for the Greek *logos*, word. T'ai Hsu presided and made a memorable statement: "Jesus Christ is the incarnated Tao. This I now understand. But for us the chief thing is that the Tao can also be incarnated in us."¹ It cannot be too emphatically stated that it is this incarnation in us for which China waits, and that there

¹ Quoted in *The Quest for God in China*, p. 188.

is no other way whereby Christianity can justify whatever claim it makes in the China of today.

Does this seem too hard a saying? A man may well shrink from a service which makes so searching a demand upon him. There is something more to be said and we may come to it through the method taken in our brief analysis of China's own religions. In their case we tried not only to understand what they now mean to the people, the way in which they have failed, been misunderstood, or have sought not very successfully to rehabilitate themselves; we tried to get at the sources of these religions, feeling that only so could we enter into and appreciate China's deepest spiritual life. The study in recent years of the sources of the Christian faith has led to such a rediscovery of Jesus as has bewildered many people. Various accretions of the ages have been looked at fearlessly. What we have built on to him, as it were, may have in it much truth but also error. To discount all the experience that has grown out of the story of Jesus would be quite foolish. Nevertheless there is a grand purpose to be served in finding him again as he actually lived among men. It has been said that no generation since the first century has come as near being able to do this as our own. It is the figure of Jesus which is our original source. To let him speak in his own way to China is a far bigger thing than to hand on to China our interpretation of him. He came among men and frankly submitted himself to their judgment.

Some accepted, many refused. There is a kind of religious propaganda which will not take the risks he took. So eager are we to get men to see Jesus as we see him, that we persuade and over-persuade; we dress him in the trappings of royalty when he would come in the workman's dress; we enshrine him in stained glass, in creed, in ritual, when he would be seen walking the road with nowhere to lay his head. And thus in our desire to honor him we conceal him.

JESUS THROUGH CHINESE EYES

Recently there have been published a number of short statements by Chinese Christians under the general title, "Jesus As I Have Known Him." Each man has found something which to him is significant. The statements are very diverse. If we were to read them for the purpose of learning how orthodox each writer is, we might throw up our hands in despair for the church in China. But read as the record of the way in which this great personality lives in the lives of Chinese today, they have an eloquence and a significance which can scarcely be missed. It is not the Jesus of the creeds and the churches, not the Jesus of Christendom with its economic and military might; it is the Jesus of the Galilean ministry and the great moments in Jerusalem who is being discovered by and is discovering the young men and women of China today. One of these writers uses words which might, I think, have been written by any of the others.

K. S. Wang says this: "If anyone should ask me the question, 'What is the unveiled or true religion of Jesus?' I can only give him an honest answer as follows: (1) Jesus was an historical character—one who revealed the divine and eternal truth and testified to the gospel of love; (2) the reason why he is worthy of adoration and belief is not due to his virgin birth, miracles, the resurrection of his body and ascension, and the final judgment of the world . . . the reason is due to his holy, loving, magnanimous, humble and great personality and his all-embracing, ever enduring and self-sacrificing spirit. For only in such a personality and spirit can we explore into the heart of the truth about the universe and human life, and thus make others believe that the final reality of human life is love—the love that pervaded the spirit of holiness and moral struggle; that ennobled the sacrifice on the cross for the world; and that brought about the most harmonious relationship between the eternal truth and the universe itself. In love there is no selfishness nor self-seeking, no strife nor bloodshed, no personal opinion nor prejudice, and no darkness nor death; but in love only may we recognize the eternal God, the heavenly Father of all men, and also may we recognize ourselves as the instruments for revealing the heavenly Father who is the Creator of all things."¹ If, then, we despair of making our own lives good

¹ "Jesus As I Have Known Him," in *Chinese Recorder* for July 1930, p. 431.

enough so that they may speak for him, we can at least help others to see him as he lived among men, and as he met his death and came back among them a presence and power and joy unspeakable.

There is a third thing to be said, and with that we must leave this problem to the reader's own thinking. Whatever religion or religions the world may at the long last follow, not only must they or it be consistent with all other known truth and able to meet the actual problems of ordinary living, but the form taken must, it would seem, be that which the races of the world together work out. If the race differences are so deep that each race must have its own religion, this point has no meaning. But in our scientific thinking and experimenting, in our artistic appreciations, in our economic and political life, we do not find that race barriers are the most important facts. The outstanding fact is that there is so much in common among the races. Art and music and literature unite us. We work together on invention and discovery. We are trying to work out our political life on common lines. Is religion to be the one place where division remains?

If we cannot accept that conclusion, we may surely say that the people of the world will have to work together on this great question of religion. It would be a bold man who would dare to say where they will come out, but it is impressive that in so many races today there are men and women to whom Jesus has made a stronger appeal than any other figure in his-

tory. It leads one at least to wonder whether there be not in him some quality, some combination of qualities, so normal and yet so unusual as to justify the title he used of himself—the Son of Man. Our hope for the answer to China's religious problem is quickened as we look out upon her people and see the men and women who have discovered themselves through discovering Jesus.

But the most hopeful thing is the fellowship that has been formed between such persons and men and women from the West. For perhaps it is true that not China nor America nor Europe can find the answer to the religious problem which is theirs today save as they work at it together in the intimate fellowship of groups concerned to find not simply a philosophy, important as that is, but a working faith that will make men more divine, that will fill them with this vital force which we all need, that will bind them together in self-sacrificing effort, that will bring out of our many discords a joyous harmony in worship of God and in service for man. If such a dream is to come true it must come through personalities who have themselves been touched with the fire divine. More than discussion is needed. We need the fusion of a great love and the radiance of a shared insight. We cannot think of China's religious problem as simply hers. It is ours too. We are all in sore straits. We need all that the human race has learned in its great quest for God and its long and weary marches. We

need all that we can learn together in humble search and bold experiment. We need the light and guidance and energy of the living God, and it is true for us, at least, that we can see most clearly what that means as we stand together before Jesus of Nazareth.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

FROM the nature of the case, our earlier discussion of the missionary movement centered in what the foreigner could do in a country like China. While the starting point in this volume has been the actual condition and need of China, we have naturally looked at many questions from that angle. One of the chief objects of the study, in fact, is to lead on to a clear conviction as to what the missionary can and what he cannot do in China today; what should be his attitude, his preparation, his specific function. But there has never been far from our mind the important change which has taken place in the whole movement from the mission-centered to the church-centered point of view.

This change was inevitable and, by all far-seeing missionaries, earnestly desired. In fact many years ago a missionary writer stated the aim of the foreign missionary to be euthanasia. The greatest moment in his life would be when he found he was no longer needed, when the church which had grown up under his care could do without him. It may be fairly charged to the movement as a whole that this objective, while recognized in theory, has been too little

present in the minds of many; that general policy has not been sufficiently shaped by it, that a certain timidity has often seized the missionary in carrying it out. He cannot bear to think that his standards of efficiency may be let down by a change of leadership, and he has too often an incurable conviction that no one else can do the thing quite as well as himself—for missionaries, too, are human.

In China the growth of nationalism, the forced evacuation of some areas during the acute anti-foreign stage, and the deliberate policy of the new government, especially in the field of education, have provided a valuable stimulus to the movement in this direction. Missionary leaders the world over, as witness the change from the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 to the Jerusalem meeting in 1928, have been rapidly reaching new convictions on this question. World currents of thought are carrying us along in the same general direction. It is therefore not surprising to find that church consciousness is far more in evidence in China today than ever before. We cannot do better than give the closing chapter of this study to the problem of the church in China, trying to view it, as far as we may, from the standpoint of the Chinese themselves rather than from that of the foreigner who is identifying himself with it.

We have reviewed in previous chapters some of China's big problems. At times we have asked what the missionary or what Christianity has to contribute

to their solution. We have now to ask rather what the Chinese church has to offer. Can she be the instrument through which the answer is given? What are her resources and what are her drawbacks in facing so great an opportunity? Where should emphasis be placed as she tries to equip herself for doing so? Finally, what help can the missionary still render to her so that she may be able in the fullest way to serve China and to express the spirit of Christ in the midst of the national life?

TOWARDS UNITY

The first and most obvious remark is that the very term we use—the Chinese church—can only be used in the most qualified way. Every Chinese who thinks deeply about the future of Christianity in his country deplores the fact that it assumes nearly a hundred and fifty different forms, organized and semi-organized, many of which tend to exclude or deliberately plan to exclude all other forms. The missionary-hearted men and women who brought to China the great gift of the gospel brought also, and coming from a divided Christendom could not help bringing, their theological, sectarian and personal points of view, and these have introduced confusion and even strife into that which should be the harmonizing force beyond all other forces in a nation's life. Not only are there the great divisions between Roman Catholic and Protestant and Greek Orthodox, but within the Protestant forces there are a host of subdivisions, some of which

have been covered up in measure by agreements for mission comity and certain united efforts, and some of which are now being swept away by union movements of which the most considerable is the Church of Christ in China. Even when this is said it is not all, for within organizations as well as separating one from another there has been a lamentable reflection of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, with not a little aggravation through provocative or thoughtless words.

Poor China! Is it not enough for her to endure civil war and bitter hostilities in her political life without the religion of Jesus bringing with it such strange new sources of difference? Dr. C. Y. Cheng said at the Edinburgh conference in 1910 that denominationalism does not interest the Chinese, and the same thing has been said in many ways by many Chinese since then. It has been prophesied that if the missionaries were all to leave China, in ten years there would be one united church. I am not so sanguine as to believe that. But there is enough suggestion of the truth to give the missionary pause. It may be that he needs a larger confidence in the guidance of the Spirit, a more daring faith in the men and women who are now in the leadership of this body of Christians, a new realization of the significance of Dr. T. T. Lew's plea, made at the National Christian Conference in 1922, that the Christians in China "agree to differ but resolve to love." It is not, of course, the mere division into sects that troubles the most thought-

ful Chinese minds. One of them, P. C. Hsu, who has recently represented China in the counsels of the World's Student Christian Federation in Geneva, has written, "What we Chinese Christians object to is not so much the fact that differences exist as the fact that such differences have made it almost impossible for Christians to love each other and to come together in such a way as to present a united front against outside attacks."¹ It would not, I think, be unfair to say that in the eyes of most Chinese Christians these divisions and their consequences are the most serious handicap to the Christian cause in China, and it is to be remembered that they are not of their making.

Yet there are other Chinese leaders who would by no means stop, who would not even begin, at this point. They see the church handicapped by its paucity of leadership, its lack of a well-planned program, the poverty of its thought life and of its spiritual life. As one who has traveled extensively among the churches in China, I can but admit that a good case can be made out for the view that the church must inevitably fail to measure up to the exceptionally difficult situation it is called upon to face. How far the lack of unity in the original presentation and subsequent organization of Christianity in China is responsible for the other weaknesses it is impossible to say. But there they are, and he must be a bold man who would affirm that we have in these weak, scattered, ignorant and poverty-stricken units a force

¹ *International Review of Missions* for July 1931, p. 359.

through which the constructive elements of religion can be made effective for the rebuilding of China.

HOPEFUL ELEMENTS

It is desirable before taking too pessimistic a view of the situation to let our eyes rest upon some of its more promising features.

1. *The Quality of Chinese Leadership*

China has some very remarkable men and women who can take their places beside the finest leaders in the Christian church anywhere. When the various countries selected representatives to go to the meeting of the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem in 1928 each tried to secure its best. It was freely remarked what an outstanding group China had sent, even in that picked gathering, and as one who had a hand in the selection I can truly say that they left behind them not a few who could have entered the group without lowering the average. Suddenly called upon to find presidents for colleges and universities, the Chinese church has found men and women who have met their enlarged responsibilities with the quiet, assured strength which gives confidence in their staying powers. It would be invidious to pick out one or two, but anyone who knows most of those who have been called to these new posts is filled with admiration as he thinks of their personalities and of the way in which they have met their problems. Not infrequently their foreign predecessors, who a few years

ago would have been sore put to it even to name a possible successor, have been fain to admit that they have seen things done which they themselves could not have done, and that the institutions are, under new leadership, going forward to fresh triumphs. Nor is it only in this field that Chinese leadership is eminent. In national organizations such as the National Christian Council and the China Christian Educational Association, in the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, in newly elected and appointed bishops and in other ecclesiastical offices, we find men and women who show rare qualities of head and heart and are a cause of pride in any group led by them. Perhaps the chief need, as Mr. Kagawa has stated it for Japan, is for "under officers" who may take up under this leadership the many subsidiary but responsible tasks that fall to any organization charged with grave duties. The Chinese church could do with many more such, though there are promising recruits in nearly every ecclesiastical group. The church has furnished leadership richly to the nation, both through the government services such as railways and posts, and through such individual effort as is exemplified by James Yen and his associates in their work for adult education, and by Chang Po Ling and other educators at their tasks in non-church schools. If the church were to visualize her particular function in the nation and summon her children to help there in other fields as she has done in the field of higher education, I believe

many more of them would step out to places of larger or lesser leadership.

2. *Steadfastness Under Persecution*

The church in China has come through periods of persecution and opposition with courage and steadfastness, and has thus been tempered for great national service. The records of the heroism of 1900 when the Boxer outbreak spread over north China are part of the imperishable history of Christianity. To stand beside the little graveyards where martyrs are buried and to hear the simple stories of their witness bearing is to feel a great reverence for Chinese Christianity. Even in its short lifetime it has much for which to give thanks in its heritage. Recent years have given another opportunity for the church to show the same spirit, although the fires have been less fierce. When the communist régime in Hunan was at its height many persons were severely tested and not a few lost their lives. I visited one station where every mission building had been entered and pillaged, including a new hospital with modern equipment, and was thrilled to meet the little band of Christians who had stood together through the ordeal. Such groups are to be found in many places. There is a girls' school in Changsha, I Fang by name, founded by a woman from one of China's outstanding families in the name and spirit of Jesus. Harassed in innumerable ways, the students were at last compelled to leave the ancestral hall where they had learned so

much. Nothing daunted by months of bitter experience and by hostile onlookers, they marched forth carrying the school banner and chanting the words, "The spirit of I Fang shall never die." Talking to a young man in Foochow who had been seized by an angry mob and driven round the city all day, mocked and beaten and made to wear an opprobrious epithet, I found him unresentful and even thankful to have made his witness thus. He told me he was actually envied by Christian friends who saw that Christ had, in that experience, become to him such a living reality that they could know it had been worth while. Such instances could be repeated many times over from the recent records of the church.

Not many in this country can realize what it has meant to loyal Chinese citizens at a time of intense national feeling to find themselves branded as "running-dogs of the foreigners," to see their property confiscated, their homes destroyed, their churches desecrated, their missionary friends compelled to leave them by consular order and as a means of somewhat reducing the fury of the attack upon the church. In a recent account which told of an "improved" situation in north Fukien, where missionaries and Chinese Christians were at last returning to a stricken district although not to the restoration of property, we read, "For many if not most of the people in those districts life must begin at the very bottom, so far as material wealth and possessions are concerned." Yet the same report gives information about twelve men

seeking ordination, the leader of whom "had not hitherto desired ordination, feeling that he could possibly render a greater service as an unordained evangelist; but he recently observed the rising tide of communism and that where the communist clashed with the church it was the ordained minister who was in the greatest danger. Mr. C. considered this a challenge which he could not escape; if the ordained minister must face danger which the unordained evangelist could escape, he wanted to be ordained."¹ Of such men any church may well be proud. I am not saying that the recent experience of the Chinese Christians is all gain. Many fell away. Some even who were sincere believers wilted under the terrible and continued strain. But something happened to the life of the church in many places which gives one an added ground of hope that she is being prepared for a far larger enterprise.²

3. *Present Temper of the Church*

Not without encouragement, too, is the present temper of the church. It has been reflected in recent significant meetings of the National Christian Council, of the Church of Christ in China, and other important Christian churches and organizations. A few years ago Christians were almost stunned by the determined attack upon them. Their attitude was natu-

¹ Occasional Letter No. 13, by Rev. A. R. Kepler, General Secretary of the Church of Christ in China.

² See Donald W. Richardson, *The Church in China*, ch. III, in which much material has been collected to emphasize this point.

rally defensive. It became necessary for them to take a united stand when hundreds of churches and schools were destroyed, when Christians were hunted out to be lynched, when even Christmas festivities were made the occasion of virulent attacks and blatant counter-demonstration. To one living in China through that period it was not surprising that very little aggressive religious work was attempted, though never did it wholly cease. Once the fury of the storm had abated, however, the Christian forces gathered themselves together for an advance on all fronts. The Five Year Movement was the church's answer to the anti-religious movement. It is the expression of a growing determination, shared by Christians all over China, to put the Christian gospel into Chinese form, to preach it especially by personal contacts and through more Christlike living, to find a more adequate literary form for the message, to share in the national life especially in such tasks as home building and adult education, to think freshly into the problem of religious education and other problems. The leaders look for a double result—an increased membership and a quickened life within the Christian community.

It is not by spectacular methods that the church hopes to accomplish such ends. I am thinking of a large city in inland China where a small group of Christians, largely illiterate, by no means united in their own life, and beset by great difficulties, are being taught and encouraged by a man whose name is known only in a small circle. He is a graduate of a

famous Western university. Coming back after a brilliant career abroad, he was called to a position in one of China's great universities. Without the least sense that he was making a sacrifice he refused the call and went back to his home town, to discouraging problems, to people who were far below him in mental calibre, unable to appreciate his learning or the measure of the gift he was making to them. There, where I saw him, he was determined to stay for years, because he trusted in God and in the possibilities of that tiny group of unlikely persons. Such a faith in the church cannot fail of its reward. Because there are many who dare to believe in it and are staking all on that belief unobserved and unheralded, and because such persons are meeting the need of today with quiet courage and hope, shall we not also have hope, however dark some sides of the picture may be, and by our hope be fellow-workers with them?

ELEMENTS STRESSED BY CHINESE LEADERS

Continuing in our effort to see the problem through Chinese eyes, let us pick out some of the elements in it which seem to the national church leaders most significant.

1. Development of an Indigenous Church

Much writing and discussion by Chinese Christians in recent years turns on the word indigenous. What exactly does it mean? Dr. Francis Wei, president of the Central China University, makes this contribution:

“As the divine life of God in man, Christianity is not indigenous and never can be. It has its origin in God and its beginning in Palestine. But as the human expression of that life, it has to be indigenous if it is to be genuine at all. . . . When Christianity . . . is in the Chinese and the Chinese nation, it will express itself in the Chinese family, the Chinese society, and the Chinese state, as well as the Chinese church. When the form is genuinely Chinese it is indigenous, and it cannot help being indigenous if it is free. This raises a problem: how can we effectively get Christianity into the life of the Chinese and the Chinese nation unless the form in which it is presented to them is indigenous with them? And on the other hand, how can there be an indigenous form unless the Chinese have got Christianity themselves? This to my mind is the problem of the indigenous church. The church is the organization which exists solely for the expression and propagation of the Christian life in and among men, and therefore the problem of an indigenous Christianity begins with that of the indigenous church.”¹

The group of Chinese who went to Jerusalem in 1928 expressed themselves in these words: “An indigenous church is one that is most adapted to the religious needs of the Chinese people, most congenial to China’s life and culture, and most effective in arousing Chinese Christians to a sense of responsibility.” Professor T. C. Chao has written: “The in-

¹ *Chinese Recorder* for February 1926, pp. 118-19.

indigenous church is one which conserves and unifies all truths contained in the Christian religion and in China's ancient civilization, and which thus manifests and expresses the religious life and experiences of the Chinese Christians in a fashion that is native and natural to them. In the course of time, which may be shortened by our Christian cooperation and love, this church will be one entirely supported by Chinese money, wholly governed by Chinese Christians, completely reorganized to suit the Chinese genius, and freshly enriched by Chinese thought on theological definitions and modifications."¹

These definitions will bear pondering over. Too long has it been possible to say, as I heard one of China's ablest Christians say a few years ago, "We cannot think of the church in China as ours." To the foreigner the question of the indigenous church has been far too much influenced by two considerations. The first is money. There is still an idea that support and control must go hand in hand, and that he who pays the piper calls the tune. Very gradually we are coming to see that to stress this point is not in the interest of the thing we foreigners most desire. We have freely received, let us freely give. In giving, with no sense that Western contribution entitles us to direct and control, there is far greater likelihood of the church's finding itself. The second unworthy consideration is the fear of unorthodoxy. People are not going to be held to the truth by being kept in subjec-

¹ *Chinese Recorder* for August 1925, p. 497.

tion. If the spirit of truth is at work in China, why be fearful? Any missionary going to China today must be fearless in his trust of the church of Christ in that land. Only in this way can the cooperation and love for which our Christian comrades there appeal so function as to hasten the day when the church is truly indigenous. "What we desire and need," says Dr. Wei, "is the freedom of making experiments."¹ That is a demand we have no right to refuse.

2. *Growing Emphasis on Worship*

A second direction in which Chinese leaders are looking is toward a deepened and enriched worship in the church. It may seem curious that in a country where the practical side is so greatly stressed, there should be, in these days of national and social need, a distinct movement in this direction. One of the chief activities which I have been responsible for in recent years has been the holding of retreats where small groups could quietly face the deepest spiritual issues. These have been held in all parts of the country and have been one of the chief features of Christian activity, especially since the National Conference in 1922. Chinese are seeking help from all quarters. They feel that there has been, sadly, too little reverence in many church services. Some feel that Buddhism has something to offer, and the attempt of Dr. Reichelt to combine the forms of the two faiths in a single approach to the living God has been watched with deep interest.

¹ *Chinese Recorder* for Feb., 1926, p. 121.

Some look towards the use of outward forms and ritual, the Gregorian chant, incense, the stately procession as an enrichment of Protestant worship. Some are beginning to find in silence or in guided meditation what their souls need. Not long ago a retreat was held in Peiping during which a small group of leaders met and followed daily a different form of worship, each trying thus to share in what others in the group valued. Some are writing hymns and adapting Chinese music in the belief that the taking over of hymns and music from abroad, even when these speak the soul of the church universal, is not all that China needs to give expression to her praise and aspiration. Some of these hymns and this music are proving most acceptable and will doubtless, as some of the Negro spirituals are doing, pass into the common heritage of the church in all lands.

Y. F. Shih gives several striking illustrations of the way in which festivals and customs may be and are being transformed by Christian ideas and made the means for developing the spirit of worship. He describes¹ a service of worship in a hillside cemetery known as the Hill of Resurrection. "The occasion," he says, "was marked by solemn ceremony, representatives from over one hundred and seventy families being present. They all had one purpose, namely, to meditate at that particular moment on the virtuous lives of their departed ancestors." He speaks of another time when he visited the home of a devout Chi-

¹ *Chinese Recorder* for November 1931, pp. 680-85.

nese Christian who keeps a room in his home dedicated as a memorial hall to his ancestors, in which portraits, writings and paintings are shown and to which once a year he invites all his relatives and friends for Christian worship. Not a few Chinese see in the ancient customs an opportunity for enriching Christian worship. The Festival of Spring with its celebration of the rising life of the new year finds its counterpart in Easter. The Feast of the Orphan Spirits, when paper money is burned to those who died leaving no progeny to care for their needs in the next world, suggests the feast of All Souls and the still richer concept of the communion of saints. Christians in China today are rethinking the whole question of the relation of worship to everyday life.

3. *The Approach to Youth*

A third direction in which Chinese Christians are working is that of the church's relation to youth. Although there is now some reaction against the body of students as a factor in politics, it is not forgotten that China has been challenged by her young men and women to shake off ancient grave-clothes, and that the new China is in large measure the creation of youth. In this day of new ideas and experiments any organization that is insensitive to the spirit and urge of the younger generation is doomed. It was young men who made the missionary movement, and again and again in the church's history it has been from groups of young people that new idealism and ad-

venture have come forth in revivifying power. As a matter of fact, Christianity in China as in other lands has got too much into the hands of the pundits. China's reverence for age, the respect paid to the missionary old-timer, the fear of innovation, have held back the church from fields into which it might well have moved a generation or two ago. Today, in the light of the morning atmosphere in which China is moving, it is but fitting that there should be an attempt to throw open the doors to youth, and to give to young men and young women a large share in shaping the church's future. Indeed if this be not done the church will lose many of her finest spirits. Already the cleavage between the church and younger Christians has in some cases become almost unbridgeable. Many young people enthusiastic for the way of Jesus would nevertheless agree with T. C. Chao when he says that "the church has created an atmosphere not altogether favorable to the development of Christianity in China." In that atmosphere they are stifled. They want the morning air.

This desire has taken shape in the formation of small fellowships outside the church, especially in colleges and universities. These are undoubtedly a witness to a new interest in religion manifested by students, especially when the Marxian and other anti-religious influences are still strong. "The story of how handfuls of Christian students in nine government universities in a certain city fought their way through opposition and derision and succeeded in

creating an intercollegiate Christian fellowship is inspiring as well as thrilling. They had first to put up posters to find out just who were the Christians in each university. These were torn down immediately by the opposing students. Both sides repeated their respective acts once, twice, thrice . . . until the Christians finally won by sheer patience. The fellowship held their weekly service in a poorly equipped room but in excellent spirit."¹ That such activity has value and life needs no argument. The disquieting fact is that it has tended away from the church rather than toward it; that a few years ago the Christian student movement was saying, "Exalt Christ! Down with the church!"

It is therefore the more significant that a recent meeting of the same organization near Peiping had for its main objective "cooperation with the church." The National Christian Council at its meeting in April 1931 invited three student visitors, gave them every opportunity to present their views, which they did "sometimes with almost startling pertinacity," and embodied their most important suggestions in its own findings. This response to the challenge of youth is a hopeful sign of the church's life.

4. Growing Emphasis on Social Evangelism

A fourth direction in which Chinese thought is urging the church forward is in the field of social evan-

¹Y. T. Wu in China Christian Year Book for 1931, quoted in *Student World*, vol. xxiv, pp. 260-61.

gelism. This does not imply any turning away from the call to the individual. In a country where the individual has been almost lost in the family and the clan there can be no doubt that Christianity will bring enlargement as it enables each person to step out through his own act of faith into "the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free." This emphasis is so fundamental in the whole missionary enterprise that it only needs here to be restated as an axiom. It is not in dispute for a moment, even if it is overshadowed sometimes by the many other interests which appeal to the church.

The whole method which we have taken in this volume of dealing with the present situation in China may be said to be a commentary upon the point we are now considering. As Chinese Christians more and more take important places of leadership in the church, it is pretty certain that the church's social planning and her deliberate attempt to help the country in such ways as we have here considered will have a larger and larger place. At the meeting of the National Christian Council just referred to this tendency was very evident. One account of the gathering which mentioned its emphasis on home-building, factory legislation, cooperative credit, rural development and so forth says, "Such a program can only be started in the next biennium. Indeed, with the resources available it looks almost impossible. Yet one rejoices to see the Christian spirit thus dare the impossible. Such a program if carried through means a vital change in

the present order. In it indeed are the seeds of something to take the place of the failing capitalist system. For a group of Christians, in face of the innumerable problems which confuse and often baffle them, thus to outline an attempt upon social ills is indication of a revival of adventurous daring that has passed beyond the point of counting costs."¹

It would be easy to add other aspects of the developing life of Chinese Christianity, scarcely if any less important than the foregoing. There is eager searching for a more satisfying statement of Christian verities, there is search for better methods in religious education, there is an ever growing desire to give China's womanhood her rightful place in the church, there is a strong conviction in some quarters that a far larger lay leadership is essential. One of the distinctive developments of recent years has been the evangelistic band, namely a small company of Chinese Christians who go to a center and stay long enough to gather around them an earnest group who have had at least a grounding in scripture and some experience of the Christian life. This local group is left to work out its own life and religious activities, and while the band may make subsequent visits, no pastor or evangelist who would have to be supported from outside sources is assigned to reside in the place. Groups of this kind have in a number of cases shown a vitality and keenness which too often does not de-

¹ An editorial in the *Chinese Recorder* for May 1931, p. 271.

velop where a paid worker is put into the center at an early stage.

THE PART OF THE MISSIONARY

What part have missionaries in the developing life of this church in China? Must they simply retire and leave it to work out its own salvation? This view has been and still is held by some. It is not the view of the responsible Chinese leaders in the church. I cannot tell how many times in recent years I have heard them express the opposite view. They believe there is a big place for the missionary and will be for many a long day. Perhaps fewer general missionaries and more specialized workers should go out. Whatever their jobs, they must be able to adjust themselves to and enter into this new environment. Missionaries are needed who will take pains to understand China and the Chinese with whom they work, who are content to serve, who care more for the spirit than for the letter, who have special qualifications for special services, who above all else will, in their personalities and in their homes, carry into China the finest expression of what Christ has come to mean to the West. Every year emphasizes the urgent need for missionaries to give themselves to the task of really understanding China, her language, her traditions, her philosophy, her history, her national aspirations, her present problems. This is a task demanding the larger part of an individual's time for two or three years and a considerable portion of it for many a year there

after. To send out missionaries who take this obligation lightly is for the churches in the sending countries the height of folly.

The church in China is weak indeed; it has in some ways less prestige and but little more economic power than it had twenty years ago; its numbers are small and have lately been diminished; there is much ignorance among its members; it has been freely accused of superstition and enslavement to the foreigner; its forces are not united into one compact organization; it lacks many of the qualities which one would like to see it possess. Yet it has a great piece of work to do; it has some leaders of superlative quality; it has a growing sense of its essential unity; it has come through the fires of persecution stronger and purer; it is beginning to see the greatness of its task and is not afraid to tackle it; it is not beyond learning; it believes in God.

After all, the church in America also is far from perfect. It is richer, but its riches may be its gravest danger. It has not been persecuted, but if it fearlessly followed Christ perhaps it would be. It has a great place in the nation's life, but is it making full use of that place? It has leaders whose names are household words, but is it trusting too much to them to do the work which all should share? No, America's church and China's church are not so different. But if each is to do its work well it needs the other. America needs the challenge of China and her needs if she is to rise out of her own materialism and isolationism

and gird her loins for the highest world service of which she is capable. China needs America with her resources and her experience if she is to steer her way amid a thousand shoals and whirlpools. For the very reason that the nations are all part of one great family, we have not temporary but permanent need of one another. "I personally," says P. C. Hsu after reviewing the reasons given by others, "should like to add another reason why there is not only a temporary but also a permanent place for the foreign missionary: because the Christian church must remain international and interracial. It is for this reason also that I believe the whole foreign missionary enterprise should be put on a radically different basis, namely the basis of mutual exchange; and I hope the time is not far distant when the Chinese Christian church will be able to send missionaries to the West."¹ She is indeed already doing so, only we call them by another name. We have quoted many Chinese in this volume who are known and honored in the West, and there are many others. Their influence is greater than they know.

This, then, is emphatically not the time for America to give less to China than she has given in the past. It is a time when we do well to consider anew the kind of gift and the manner of the giving. We should find more men and women with outstanding talents, with special training, and in some cases with years of experience in responsible positions. Among such

¹ *International Review of Missions* for July 1931, p. 366.

there will be some who cannot devote a lifetime to China and who have little chance of acquiring facility in their use of the language. But if they have the right intellectual and spiritual qualifications and the right attitude towards their Chinese colleagues, the church in China will certainly find uses for average men and women. What I should say is that in sending such men and women care should be taken to lead them to respect the people to whom they go, and also to encourage them to acquire fluency in the spoken language.

It becomes ever more clear that China is facing a combination of problems such as would baffle the wisest counselors and the boldest leadership. The Christian church finds herself in the midst of this rapidly developing situation. She cannot escape the kind of issues we have been discussing. Today she is in a mood to learn and to receive if those who come to her are willing to sit down on equal terms with Chinese leaders, content to serve where and how they are asked, willing even to return home if some temperamental or other defect prevents their service from being effective. Such men and women Chinese Christians look for with an eagerness which can scarcely be overestimated. When they are found, rare friendships, unique opportunities, and the thrill of sharing in great creative enterprises are offered to them.

It is my firm conviction that as we look into the living issues in China today we can trace a movement of the divine Purposer breaking fresh ground, leading from ignorance to knowledge, opening the doors to a

new and fairer day for this great people. But it always has been the case that the fulfilment of the divine plan depends on the discovery of men and women who can catch a glimpse of it and who will utterly and freely commit themselves to it. This volume closes with the prayer that some among its readers will discover in it a clue for which they have been seeking for the guidance of their own lives.

READING LIST

Out of the immense literature on China there has been selected for this reading list a small number of titles that are for the most part of recent date, easily available, and moderate in price. A few others have been included that are of special value for reference on the questions treated in this volume. Readers desiring a comprehensive bibliography on China are referred to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 152, November 1930, which is entirely devoted to China, and although out of print may be consulted in libraries. Several of the articles from it are cited here because of their importance as source material on particular topics. (Note that for these citations the abbreviated form Annals is used.)

Study groups desiring to purchase a limited number of recent, moderate-priced reference books will find the titles marked * especially serviceable. Suggestions for planning and conducting a study course on China based on this book, as well as additional references to source materials, will be found in the *Leaders' Manual to Accompany "Living Issues in China"* by T. H. P. Sailer, available through denominational literature headquarters, price 25 cents.

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- PACIFIC AREA: AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY, THE. G. H. Blakeslee. World Peace Foundation, Boston. 1929. \$2.00.
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